

The Philanthropist

JAMES G. BIRNEY AND

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PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1837.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, Jr., Editor.

WHOLE NO. 70.

THE PHILANTHROPIST,
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ANTI-SLAVERY.

From the Emancipator. Abolition at the South.

Not long since we stated that a gentleman, belonging to a slave state, on his return from Europe, called at our office, and subscribed for the Emancipator. The paper was sent according to direction. A few weeks after we received the following letter from him, dated April 1st.

"Respected Sir,
Some weeks ago, I was in New York, and subscribed for your paper, which I requested to be sent to me in it. I have not received a single number of it, for I am informed that the post masters are in the habit of destroying all papers and publications, advocating the holy doctrines of human rights and liberty—called by the incendiary publications. I write this to tell you to cease sending the paper, as from the above you see it cannot reach me. I am ashamed to say such things of my native state, but such are the facts. As for the mite, the amount of my subscription, be pleased to make use of it, in any way you think most proper to forward that cause, which though a — born and bred I now consider an excellent publication — and years of travel in Europe have made me, what I am now proud to call myself, an abolitionist.

Believe me sir,
with the sincerest respect and esteem,
Yours, &c."

A day or two after the reception of the above, a return copy of your paper, torn to pieces, was received, enclosed in a wrapper, on which was written the following:
"You had better have come yourself, and then I could have had the pleasure of giving you Lynch's law."

An answer to the above letter was written by our publishing agent, to which he soon received a reply, from which we make the following extracts. We regret that it is so long, but it is a native of the state from which it is written, and we are not giving the letter entire. As persons, but several most affecting local allusions. The letter is dated April 10th, and begins as follows:

"Dear Sir,
I have just received yours of the 1st inst. When the Emancipator directed to me reached this place, it was without my knowledge, taken from the post office, torn up and sent back by — and I am told by — that he knew it, that I received such publications, it would endanger my life. I feel deeply the stain, that so disgraceful a fact casts on the honor of my native state, and I am no longer proud of being born in —, a state in which one half the population groan under an oppression far more inhuman than any other known in modern times.

Slavery as you say annihilates the rights of the unhappy colored man, you are too mild when you say that it is making fearful inroads upon the rights of the white man. Sir, in — it has trampled the rights and liberties of white citizens under foot. Some time since a committee was appointed and ordered forcibly to examine every boarding house and tavern in this place, looking for what they called incendiary publications. Trunks were opened and rummaged. Even this letter I am obliged to write in secret. Well may you exclaim, how long shall such things be! The God of justice, the father of the oppressed is on our side. Let us therefore hope and persevere.

I have travelled much in Europe, and whatever may be the approbation which the people of the southern part of the United States try to cast on the Anti-Slavery society, believe me, when I assure you that the untiring exertions of that society in a holy cause, are held up to the admiration of all classes, in every civilized country in the world. Indeed so much are slavery and slaveholders abhorred in the old countries, particularly in England and France, that I declare, if I had been a slaveholder, I would not have expressed myself as such, for the sentiments, while boasting of the free political institutions of my country, have been made to blush by some one of our countrymen are lingering in a cruel bondage never seen in our monarchial countries.

I regard slavery not only as a great sin, in a moral point of view, but a great evil politically speaking, and it is my candid opinion that it must be abolished, or our liberties will be destroyed forever.

The writer then puts in an apology for the individual who returned the paper, and adds:
"For the present accept the assurances of my unwavering devotion to the cause of liberty and justice. Any letter from yourself will always give me sincere pleasure, and whenever I go to New York, I shall call call upon you, sans ceremony, as I would on an old friend."

I remain, with respect and esteem,
Yours sincerely,
Such, reader, is the liberty of the white man, where slavery reigns. The white is himself a slave. He reads and writes the doctrine of liberty at the peril of his life. And such, so far forth as the slave policy obtains, is the freedom of the white man in the free states. Let Texas into the Union, let northern merchants and lawyers and ministers and magistrates and presidents swear themselves on the altar of slavery, and the slave policy once bear un-disputed sway in these states, and liberty throughout the land is dead, and the entire nation, white as well as black, must be slave masters or slaves. There will be but two classes, oppressor and oppressed. And the white man that does not become the oppressor or swear allegiance to him will be ranked with the slave, and be crushed by the heel of despotism as readily and as completely as if he were the blackest of the black. Yeomany of the land, I speak to you as to wise men, judge ye what I say. Think not that slaves, nor condition, nor color. In one half the land, whatever your color, you are now slaves, if you dare to breathe the sentiments of liberty. And in the other half, you will soon be slaves, if you do not rise up to resist the monster which is at this moment making his preparations to bind you, hand and foot. Already one of your own citizens has sworn himself to wield the power and authority of the highest office in the nation, for the will do it in defiance of the monster, may that he long think you the liberties of the people are secure when, in a republican government, the high places of authority are power, deliberately and by oath bid defiance to the people's will! Secure! They are gone—gone now—gone irretrievably and forever, if the people do not rouse them to the rescue. Up then, every man of you, and do your duty or you are undone.

Ladies' Anti-Slavery Convention.

The following notice of this important meeting has been obligingly furnished us by one of the members of the body. Col. Stone, we perceive, raves about it in his usual gallant style. But what provokes the rage of free-It is the hit bird that flutters. We trust the ladies will take the hint, and move on with increased energy, and high hope, in those efforts for the relief of the suffering, which of all others, are most worthy of womanhood.

Emancipator.
A Convention of Anti-Slavery Women was held in the city of New York, by adjournment from the 9th to the 12th of 5th month. Mary S. Parker of Boston, was the chosen President, and Lydia M. Child of Boston, was the chosen Secretary, and Lydia M. Child of Boston, was the chosen Secretary, and Lydia M. Child of Boston, was the chosen Secretary.

A. E. Grimké of South Carolina; Mary Grew of Philadelphia; Anna W. Weston of Boston, and Sarah Pugh, Delegates from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, were present, and S. M. and A. E. Grimké, requested their names might be stricken from the roll of delegates from Philadelphia, and registered as representatives from South Carolina. The number of Delegates was 71, and 107 women gave in their names during the sittings of the Convention as Corresponding members, besides many who attended as spectators.

The sittings of this Convention were deeply interesting and important, and conducted with a dignity and talent which was truly gratifying. The members met in fear and trembling, lest this "new thing under the sun" might not answer the purpose for which it was designed. Workers and their tears and to devise means for the redemption of the captive slave. "The North gave up the South, kept not back" its counsellors, and after holding 5 meetings closed the Convention under a solemn sense of the responsibilities they had assumed, with their strength renewed, for the mighty work in which they are engaged, and their hearts still more closely united in the bonds of Christian fellowship and philanthropic effort. Hitherto many of them had only heard of each other by the hearing of the ear, but now they enjoyed the satisfaction of their lips, "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." The Convention passed many resolutions, numbers of which were sustained by animated remarks from different individuals, others called forth interesting debates, and a few believed it their duty to have their names registered on the minutes as dissenting from two of the resolutions, yet even these were passed by a large majority, and the harmony of the body was unbroken.

Very thorough ground was taken against slavery, prejudice and colonization in the resolutions and documents of the Convention, particularly among the oppressed sisters, two of whom testified in the most touching and emphatic manner to the dreadful effects of the scheme of expatriation upon the colored people as a body. Committees were appointed to prepare an appeal to the women of the non-free states—an address to the free people of color in the U. States—a circular to the Women's Anti-Slavery Societies of the United States—and an address to Juvenile Anti-Slavery Societies—all of which will be published. A letter was also addressed by this Convention to the women of Great Britain, and one to J. Q. Adams, which will appear in the next Emancipator.

The subject of forming a National Anti-Slavery Society was canvassed, but it was unanimously agreed that an Annual Convention would effect all the great objects of a society without any of its cumbersome machinery, and it was therefore concluded not to form such an organization, and to meet annually at New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere, the next meeting to be held in Philadelphia, the 3d week in the 6th month, 1838, if the Lord will.

Lydia M. Child proposed to the Convention a systematic plan of petitioning, which was adopted. It was thought to begin to roll up our petitions into county memorials, instead of sending them from cities and towns, as it so many, had yet 150 left on his hands at the close of the session of Congress. Some impressive remarks were made on the importance of petitioning, and the duty of doing its pledges, ere it met again.

As the minutes of this Convention will be published in pamphlet form, we will merely add that pledges from societies and individuals were made to the amount of \$347 50, to defray the expenses of printing, &c. Our oppressed sisters contributed liberally to this fund.

On the whole, we feel that we have great cause to be thankful in view of this Convention, and hope and pray that its influence may be felt throughout every state in our Union, and especially in the dark places of this slaveholding nation, which are full of the habitations of cruelty, notwithstanding our high sounding professions of liberal principles and Christian practice.

To the Hon. John Quincy Adams.

RESPECTED SIR:
It is on no unimportant subject that we address you, and for which as the representative of those whose cause you have nobly vindicated, we ask the attention of the nation of our inestimable right, we offer an acknowledgment of your hearty gratitude. We thank you, for man to be heard in the halls of legislation, and in the of those who seem unwilling to remember that they are the sons of woman—and forget that in despising the rights of any woman, they trample on those of their own mothers, sisters, wives and daughters.

But you, Sir, have yet another claim on our gratitude. You have asserted the right of the unprivileged bondman to tell the story of his wrongs in the same proud halls, and the ear of his cruel country. We thank you fervently for his behalf—his, alas! cannot thank you!

city of New York; and which held its sittings from the 8th, to the 11th of May, 1837.

Signed on behalf of the Committee,
ANNA BLACKWELL, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Convention of Women, men, assembled in New York, May, 1837, it was unanimously Resolved, That a Committee from the different States, where women have petitioned Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and Quincy Adams, be instructed to convey to the Honorable John Adams, the grateful sense which this Convention entertains of his recent services in defending the right of petition for women, and for slaves—qualified as it must be with the regret, that by expressing himself "averse to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia," he did not sustain the cause of Freedom and of GOD.

Signed on behalf of the Convention,
MARY S. PARKER, President.
A. E. GRIMKÉ, Secretary.

From the Friend of Man.

ANOTHER SIGNAL DEFEAT.—The total failure of the devout thankfulness to the God of the oppressed. A more formidable movement has seldom been made against the cause of freedom. A more signal overthrow can not be turned into foolishness. A Hushai was his cabinet of Absalom. The builders of Babel found a will be found under the head of "Integrity of the Union" Convention.

We think we do not overrate the importance of this victory. Our friends from Pennsylvania whom we met at the Anniversary in New York, were unanimous in their convention, at one time, assumed. It was to Resolutions of some of the Presbyteries who had copied,—"The Centinel" was one among the number. The printers "refused to print" any thing in favor of human rights. "All faces gathered paleness," "Southern men" were clustered round in "anxious and confident expectation." The most enlightened abolitionists were most in dread of the results of the convention. "It was most obviously intended to back up the despotism of the South."

Such were some of the expressions we noted down from the lips of our Pennsylvania brethren, as they related the condition of things in that state a few weeks ago. But the tables are now turned. The Anti-Slavery Convention is now become a jest—a byword—and known.

SLAVERY

The following two pieces are from the pen of a lady who has been residing in a slave-holding state. They are published in the Liberator.

The Runaway.

A beautiful winding path lay before me intersected by a swift transparent creek, over which a simple bridge was thrown, the narrow terminating point of a dark swamp which lay on the western border of the town. From this creek, the land on the west suddenly rose into a hill, from the top of which the sun was declining, and throwing its beams full in my face as I ascended, amongst pines, oaks, persimmon, and a variety of flowers, from which the dazzling rays were shut out. When I reached the oak springs, I stopped to look back upon the swamp and the bridge below, which I had never passed without dread of meeting a runaway slave at that narrow pass. Having heard much of their desperate efforts to make some inroad upon my flesh with a cleaver. Suddenly I heard a rustling noise among the leaves, and a faint object, retreating from the spring, crawling on his hands and feet, having obtained a broken gourd of water. He was gradually descending the hill to skirt along the borders of the shrubby creek; for the sound of dogs and unsafe, while the sportsmen were pursuing their game. Instead of fear, the most distressing scene of pity filled my heart. He was the most wretched being I ever saw. Emaciated to a skeleton, his skin had almost lost its hue, from so long continuance in darkness and dampness. I even that might mark him for a prey. The negroes were low, working on the cotton plant, evidently saw him, but carefully avoided looking toward him. I walked on to the children of the mansion near, who loved often to assemble there with their black mammy at milking time—but all was silent there. A little stream rippled beyond, which carried the water from the spring to the spring shaded with trees. Old Sybil was boiling her clothes over a brisk light-wood fire, with her kettle suspended in the open air. This was a gipsy scene. The old woman stood the very genius of the place. She was counted, amongst her kind, a gifted fortune-teller. Her needed not the deceitful "covering smile" for her only known auditor was the runaway, with eyes lighted and rolled about in doubt, and ready to run at the least suspicion of danger near. His gestures craved some food, and Sybil went to the spring-house, and brought forth some clabber, which he greedily swallowed; then came daddy Neptune from behind the wine-press, with a bone of meat under his jerkin, and now the stranger ventured own wooden cap, and put it on the runaway's head, and these poor fellows dared to speak during this pantomime. But Sybil was aware, that her silence might be thought suspicious of mischief; she therefore raised her voice at and gestures she took up her own wrongs. In the abundance of her ambitious ignorance, her words were loudly and bombastically, mutilated, and misapplied. She child who was a slave in Mississippi, and her young master as his uncle. She seemed to glory in this high white people, who would sell their own children, and Christians! The runaway seemed soothed by the complaint he heard, but made none himself. The swamp, as the night was gathering, and the cries of the huntmen had ceased from out his doleful home.

Mary,
"What is the matter, Mary?" asked a lady, who met her poor dejected countenance in the street. "Harry checked," said she, as the tears rolled down her cheeks,—"and she tried to conceal her face behind her baby, whom she carried in her arms. An older child ran beside the basket of vegetables she had for her own head. The lady, perceiving she could not relate intelligently what had happened, went to her mistress to learn, for she had employed her, and knew her to be a faithful christian slave. The mistress said, she doubted whether she would ever be of any more use to her, now that they had sold Harry into Louisiana, all human probability; and she had eleven children, in any of them small, and not good for much yet. The mistress said, "My husband had offered seven hundred dollars to his master, for Mary's husband—for he was a clever fellow, though not strong. But as soon as my husband had gone out of town, on business, the speculation, knowing that the owner of Harry was forced to sell, he went to him and bought Harry for the price my husband had offered; giving the owner the promise that he would not sell him out of the town where his wife and children lived; for his owner required this promise. But a planter from the south-west offered eight hundred dollars, according to the speculation's expectation, and he was sold! When he was sent to bed he was fastened in his room, and his breakfast was taken up to him, out bidding good-bye, he was put in irons to prevent escape, and against the speculation's advice, came with him, going, and to take leave of her. "My husband," continued the slave's word, and my responsibility, that he would not run away, but he returned, but the gentleman, he had returned, but he would not be imposed upon by that dollars more than his old master offered him for—so he had to go. Poor creature! the parting seemed very hard, but he would not do for a cry, and they both seemed Mary it would not do for him to refuse to go, since his promise to the gentleman; and that she must keep her children in good order, and learn them their prayers, and to buy him back again before he died." These were both christians, and lived in peace together.

THE CRUELTY OF SLAVERY.
The attentive readers of Anti-Slavery publications are well aware that the instances of greatest cruelty, are uniformly given on the testimony of slaveholders themselves. So far as our own editorial labors have extended, we have abstained from giving the more outrageous violations of humanity, unless able to quote from southern publications, or to refer to the actors by name. Were we to tell of hunting down men with dogs, burning them to death by inches, with slow fires, and shooting stray slaves, on the mere testimony of some northern traveller, we should at once lose the credence of the malice of our readers. But who can forbid us to republish the statements of southern men themselves? Who can refuse to believe the official publication of a chivalrous South Carolinian? The following we take from the Georgia Constitutionalist of a recent date.

AIKEN, (S. C.) December 20, 1836.
"To the Editors of the Constitutionalist:—

I have just returned from an Inquest I held over the dead body of a negro man, a runaway, that was shot near the South Edisto, in this District, (Barnwell), on Saturday morning last. He came to his death by his own recklessness. He refused to be taken alive—and said that he was determined that he would not be taken. When taken he was nearly naked, had a large dirk who were in pursuit of him found it absolutely necessary to shoot at small shot, with the intention of crippling him. He was shot at several times, and at last he was so disabled as to be compelled to surrender. He kept in the run of a creek in a very dense swamp all the time that the neighbors were in pursuit of him. As soon as the negro was taken, the best medical aid was procured, but he died on the same evening. One of the witnesses at the Inquisition stated that the negro boy said that he was from Mississippi, and belonged to so many persons, he did not know who his master was; said his own name was Sam, and when asked by another witness who his master was, he muttered something like "35 or 40 years of age, about six feet high, slightly yellow in the face, very long beard or whiskers, and very stout built, and a stern countenance; and appeared to have been runaway a long time."

WILLIAM H. FRITCHARD.
Coroner, (Ex. Office,) Barnwell Dist., S. C.
Copy the above.

learn, for she had employed her, and knew her to be a faithful christian slave. The mistress said, she doubted whether she would ever be of any more use to her, now that they had sold Harry into Louisiana, all human probability; and she had eleven children, in any of them small, and not good for much yet. The mistress said, "My husband had offered seven hundred dollars to his master, for Mary's husband—for he was a clever fellow, though not strong. But as soon as my husband had gone out of town, on business, the speculation, knowing that the owner of Harry was forced to sell, he went to him and bought Harry for the price my husband had offered; giving the owner the promise that he would not sell him out of the town where his wife and children lived; for his owner required this promise. But a planter from the south-west offered eight hundred dollars, according to the speculation's expectation, and he was sold! When he was sent to bed he was fastened in his room, and his breakfast was taken up to him, out bidding good-bye, he was put in irons to prevent escape, and against the speculation's advice, came with him, going, and to take leave of her. "My husband," continued the slave's word, and my responsibility, that he would not run away, but he returned, but the gentleman, he had returned, but he would not be imposed upon by that dollars more than his old master offered him for—so he had to go. Poor creature! the parting seemed very hard, but he would not do for a cry, and they both seemed Mary it would not do for him to refuse to go, since his promise to the gentleman; and that she must keep her children in good order, and learn them their prayers, and to buy him back again before he died." These were both christians, and lived in peace together.

MONSIEUR.—The collector of the customs told us the imports of the island had very greatly increased since 1834, a circumstance to be explained by the payment of wages on five emancipated slaves, and also on four others where the people receive wages as if they were free, but pendency hanging over their heads. They receive a bit of money for five days, and two bits for that which is their own time—viz, the Saturday on these estates, and the Friday and Saturday on all others (a bit equal to four-pence sterling.)—says there are extensive unoccupied lands in Monserrat which the negroes might purchase at a very cheap rate. No apprehension, however, exists that they will quit the estates, when free, which is a great bugbear in colonies similarly situated. They show every disposition to work for wages. He has found no difficulty by offering a trifle more than the customary rate, in procuring laborers to pick the pods of the thorny acacia, and to work the sulphur mines, one of them a most disagreeable and the other a most laborious employment. The president and collector both concurred in these sentiments. We were introduced to the rector of the parish, a young man, sincerely anxious, we believe, to promote the good of the people. He said he looked to the year 1840 as the time for himself and to begin to be successful. The state of morals in the colony is very dreadful. Nominal education is general, but the want of teachers and of school-houses is severely felt. Some of the communicants afford indisputable evidence of piety. Marriages are becoming more general amongst the apprentices, but the great majority of them still live in the island, when it became rumored among the negroes, was in arrest, and believing that to be the cause of his resolution, they came to him and offered to provide him with a house free of expense, if he would but consent to stay with them. We called also upon the Wesleyan missionary, the only one resident in the island. He appears to be an intelligent and energetic young man.

On the whole, we are encouraged at the prospect of this interesting colony. It is generally admitted that apprenticeship is now the only bar to its prosperity. enough, still there has been a visible improvement during short years. From every side there is a loud call upon the friends of the negroes to do something to educate and elevate them.

Letter From the West Indies.

BARBADOES, March 11th, 1837.

Dear Brother Wright—
We arrived here on the morning of the 20th ult. after a long passage from Antigua of seven days. The winds were dead against us all the way, and some of the time was almost a calm, so that we made but little progress. The captain of the little schooner which we hired to take us here, and the crew, two men and a boy, were all black; and of the two men were emancipated slaves. The mother of the captain was stolen from Africa in her youth, and died twenty years ago, and for many years was on board a British man of war stationed on the coast of Africa, and assisted in capturing several slave vessels, full laden with slaves in St. Kitts, till about ten years ago, when he went to Antigua in a vessel of his master's where himself and several of his fellow slaves, together with the vessel were seized for debt, and sold at public auction in the streets of St. John's, "like so many beasts," as he expressed it. He was purchased by the present chief justice of Antigua, and employed by him in hoisting sugar from one part of the island to the other.—On the first of August, 1834, he became free with the other slaves of that island, and has since been engaged in coasting among the windward islands. He was a highly intelligent fellow, and seemed to be fit for freedom as any of those who are engaged in their bodies. He said he was well satisfied with freedom, and would not for any price, become a slave again. The emancipation, there was but one white man in the midst of several hundred slaves. Yet there was no insurrection or throat cutting.

HOW SLAVES LOVE FREEDOM.

While we were off the northwest coast of Guadalupe, we saw a small boat with sail hoisted steering away from Antigua. The captain told us it was probably a boat with runaway slaves. Great numbers of them have escaped from Guadalupe in this manner since British emancipation. Only the week before we left, a boat with three men and a woman arrived at Antigua. There are hundreds like our Indian canoe, and seem utterly incapable of enduring the heavy seas between those islands. Hundreds have arrived safely, but hundreds more undoubtedly perish in the attempt.—The dangers to which they expose themselves—risk of being retaken and severely punished, and of being swallowed up in the ocean—proved to Monserrat, which is near, but the governor, with a sent them back; they have learned better now, and go to free Antigua.

AUTHOR OF THE LETTER, TO GERRIT SMITH.

On our arrival here, we met with W. R. Hayes, Esq., author of the letter to Gerrit Smith. He came out with all the feelings and prejudices of a colonizationist, but the abolitionism has been of much service to us in introducing us to people who are qualified to give us information as to Antigua. There is more of slaveholding undertone.—There were all ready to expose the system of free labor in all its bearings, but here there is a many, though we have met with those who make no pretension in giving their opinions.

VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR.

We called on the Governor last Tuesday. He received us very cordially, and offered all the assistance in his power. He conversed freely on the subject of emancipation, freedom. He has been in the West Indies five years, and was about five months since he came here, and on other islands besides. In no island have affairs gone so quietly and satisfactorily to all parties as in Antigua. He says from what he knows of negro character in freedom better than apprenticeship, better for the master and better for the laborer. Under the present system parties are vexed and embittered by the continual appeals which are made to the stipendiary magistrates. If the apprentice does wrong, he is hurried before the magistrate, and if the master displeases the apprentice he is arraigned in the same manner. Thus the parties which ought to be bound together by mutual dependencies are set in array against each other, and a perpetual warfare is kept up. Emancipation was complete, should the master and laborer disagree, they would quietly part, the one would seek a new servant and the other a new master. All the uneasiness and bickerings which now exist will pass away with the present system.

He says Antigua has chosen the wise part, she has done what she can, and she has done it well. She has done more than what the other colonies intend doing at three—

learn, for she had employed her, and knew her to be a faithful christian slave. The mistress said, she doubted whether she would ever be of any more use to her, now that they had sold Harry into Louisiana, all human probability; and she had eleven children, in any of them small, and not good for much yet. The mistress said, "My husband had offered seven hundred dollars to his master, for Mary's husband—for he was a clever fellow, though not strong. But as soon as my husband had gone out of town, on business, the speculation, knowing that the owner of Harry was forced to sell, he went to him and bought Harry for the price my husband had offered; giving the owner the promise that he would not sell him out of the town where his wife and children lived; for his owner required this promise. But a planter from the south-west offered eight hundred dollars, according to the speculation's expectation, and he was sold! When he was sent to bed he was fastened in his room, and his breakfast was taken up to him, out bidding good-bye, he was put in irons to prevent escape, and against the speculation's advice, came with him, going, and to take leave of her. "My husband," continued the slave's word, and my responsibility, that he would not run away, but he returned, but the gentleman, he had returned, but he would not be imposed upon by that dollars more than his old master offered him for—so he had to go. Poor creature! the parting seemed very hard, but he would not do for a cry, and they both seemed Mary it would not do for him to refuse to go, since his promise to the gentleman; and that she must keep her children in good order, and learn them their prayers, and to buy him back again before he died." These were both christians, and lived in peace together.

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We arrived here on the morning of the 20th ult. after a long passage from Antigua of seven days. The winds were dead against us all the way, and some of the time was almost a calm, so that we made but little progress. The captain of the little schooner which we hired to take us here, and the crew, two men and a boy, were all black; and of the two men were emancipated slaves. The mother of the captain was stolen from Africa in her youth, and died twenty years ago, and for many years was on board a British man of war stationed on the coast of Africa, and assisted in capturing several slave vessels, full laden with slaves in St. Kitts, till about ten years ago, when he went to Antigua in a vessel of his master's where himself and several of his fellow slaves, together with the vessel were seized for debt, and sold at public auction in the streets of St. John's, "like so many beasts," as he expressed it. He was purchased by the present chief justice of Antigua, and employed by him in hoisting sugar from one part of the island to the other.—On the first of August, 1834, he became free with the other slaves of that island, and has since been engaged in coasting among the windward islands. He was a highly intelligent fellow, and seemed to be fit for freedom as any of those who are engaged in their bodies. He said he was well satisfied with freedom, and would not for any price, become a slave again. The emancipation, there was but one white man in the midst of several hundred slaves. Yet there was no insurrection or throat cutting.

HOW SLAVES LOVE FREEDOM.

While we were off the northwest coast of Guadalupe, we saw a small boat with sail hoisted steering away from Antigua. The captain told us it was probably a boat with runaway slaves. Great numbers of them have escaped from Guadalupe in this manner since British emancipation. Only the week before we left, a boat with three men and a woman arrived at Antigua. There are hundreds like our Indian canoe, and seem utterly incapable of enduring the heavy seas between those islands. Hundreds have arrived safely, but hundreds more undoubtedly perish in the attempt.—The dangers to which they expose themselves—risk of being retaken and severely punished, and of being swallowed up in the ocean—proved to Monserrat, which is near, but the governor, with a sent them back; they have learned better now, and go to free Antigua.

AUTHOR OF THE LETTER, TO GERRIT SMITH.

On our arrival here, we met with W. R. Hayes, Esq., author of the letter to Gerrit Smith. He came out with all the feelings and prejudices of a colonizationist, but the abolitionism has been of much service to us in introducing us to people who are qualified to give us information as to Antigua. There is more of slaveholding undertone.—There were all ready to expose the system of free labor in all its bearings, but here there is a many, though we have met with those who make no pretension in giving their opinions.

VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR.

We called on the Governor last Tuesday. He received us very cordially, and offered all the assistance in his power. He conversed freely on the subject of emancipation, freedom. He has been in the West Indies five years, and was about five months since he came here, and on other islands besides. In no island have affairs gone so quietly and satisfactorily to all parties as in Antigua. He says from what he knows of negro character in freedom better than apprenticeship, better for the master and better for the laborer. Under the present system parties are vexed and embittered by the continual appeals which are made to the stipendiary magistrates. If the apprentice does wrong, he is hurried before the magistrate, and if the master displeases the apprentice he is arraigned in the same manner. Thus the parties which ought to be bound together by mutual dependencies are set in array against each other, and a perpetual warfare is kept up. Emancipation was complete, should the master and laborer disagree, they would quietly part, the one would seek a new servant and the other a new master. All the uneasiness and bickerings which now exist will pass away with the present system.

He says Antigua has chosen the wise part, she has done what she can, and she has done it well. She has done more than what the other colonies intend doing at three—

and one of which they have already taken. Immediate freedom cannot be a little excitement which has now passed away and all is settled and peaceful. The passage from slavery to apprenticeship was attended with as much excitement as the passage to unconditional freedom, and in some islands and perhaps generally with more. That was one leap. Another, which will be worse, must be taken in 1838, and in 1840, will come the third. Thus excitement follows excitement and irritation is added to irritation. He fears there will be some disturbance and insubordination in 1838, should the planters refuse to give freedom to all at the time it is given to the non-pretials. He thinks, however, that policy will lead them to do this, and entire emancipation will take place in 1838.

He told us that he was so strongly satisfied that emancipation is safe and proper, and is so strongly confident that entire freedom is far preferable to the apprenticeship, that had he the power he would liberate every apprentice to-morrow morning.

He invited us to dine with him on Thursday, but we were engaged in the country and did not the honor. We returned yesterday except from a visit to a large estate about four miles from town, in which were 300 apprentices. We spent a day and a night with the manager who gave us much useful information. I intend to give you some account of it, but I find the vessel which takes this to close her letter bag sooner than I expected. Suffice it to say that all his testimony was highly favorable to emancipation. I have time to say no more. We expect to leave here in two weeks more and hope to be in New York the last of May.

Yours very truly,
J. H. KIMBALL.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

Resolutions Adopted at the Last Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Last week we published some of these resolutions: we here subjoin the rest.—Ed. Phil.

RELATIONS OF THE PARENT AND STATE SOCIETIES.

The Committee on business, reported a plan to secure harmony and efficiency in the operations of the parent and state societies, in their relation to each other, which after discussion and amendment was adopted as follows:

1. Each state society to have its Depository, to be supported by it, or in such other way as the friends of the cause may determine, and located according to its discretion.
2. Each state to have at least one general agent, appointed by it, and if the state society shall not receive sufficient funds for his support, the deficiency shall be made up by the parent society, out of any money received from that state.
3. At the annual meeting in New York, a sum to be pledged on behalf of each state auxiliary to the parent society, and if county or local societies or individuals pledge or contribute, then or subsequently, to the parent society, the pledges or contributions to be considered as going to redeem the pledge made by the state auxiliary in which they are located; and the treasurer of the parent society is hereby directed, to place all monies received from societies of individuals in said state, to the credit of the state pledge, till such pledge is redeemed.

ECCLÉSIASTICAL.

On motion of George Bourne, after several amendments and considerable discussion, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, since the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1836, we have witnessed with surprise and sorrow, that many of the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States, in various degrees and different forms, have either sanctioned, palliated, or justified the iniquitous system of slavery; and whereas, those ecclesiastical bodies, or many of the ministers of which they are composed, without receiving censure, have exhibited the temerity to pervert the Holy Scriptures into an approval of that unrighteousness which they condemn; and whereas, it is the sacred duty of the American Anti-Slavery Society to record their testimony against all measures of such a character. Therefore, resolved,

1. That the American Anti-Slavery Society do declare their unfeigned abhorrence of that profanation of the Holy Scriptures, by which they are distorted into a defence of slavery, with its inseparable abominations.
2. Resolved, That all acts or decisions of every ecclesiastical body, by whatever name and of whatever denomination, in support of slavery, which is diametrically opposed to the gospel of Christ, should be resolutely and constantly disobeyed.
3. Resolved, That the American Anti-Slavery Society do urgently recommend to all their auxiliaries, and to the members of them, and to all other friends of immediate emancipation, who believe that slavery is only an incurable mass of unrighteousness and cruelty, always loudly to protest against all the unchristian acts of pro-slavery ecclesiastical bodies.

POLITICAL.

W. L. Garrison, from the committee on political action, submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, As the sense of this society, that whilst abolitionists ought neither to organize a distinct political party, nor as abolitionists to attach themselves to any existing party, the people of all parties are solemnly bound, by the principles of our civil and religious institutions, to refuse to support any man for office, who will not sustain the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, the right of petition, and the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the territories, and who will not oppose the introduction of any new slave state into the Union.

HAYTI.

Elizur Wright, jr., from the committee of business, presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

Whereas, the refusal of the government of the United States to recognize the independence of the long established and well sustained government of Hayti, in contradiction of our publicly announced principles of international policy, and to the inconvenience of a commerce more valuable than that with many nations, at whose courts we maintain expensive missions, betrays a subservience of our national policy to the will of slaveholders, which is highly disgraceful to our national character, and calls upon us, as citizens of a free country, to memorialize Congress to recognize the national independence of Hayti, and place our relations with it on the same footing of equality and courtesy as with other nations.

TEXAS.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison introduced the following, which were adopted:

Whereas, The invasion and revolution of Texas, by a portion of the people of this country, contrary to the faith of treaties, and without any cause founded in reason, justice or necessity; but obviously with the horrible design to introduce slavery and the slave trade upon a territory from which those abominations have been swept away by the Mexican government;

And whereas, this base and treacherous conduct has been winked at by our government, in a manner clearly evincing of sympathy and approval, and which deserves the severest condemnation of the civilized world;

And whereas, the independence of Texas has been recognized by the Congress and government of the United States with indecent haste, and under circumstances pregnant with perilous consequences to our country;

And whereas, it is the avowed determination, on the part of Texas and the slave-holding States, to obtain the admission of Texas to the American Union, at the next session of Congress, in order to secure the protection of the American government;

And whereas, such an annexation would manifestly tend to a dissolution of the Union, to the moral and political degradation and enslavement of the people of the free states, to the perpetuity of the system of slavery, and to a fearful augmentation of the horrors of the foreign and domestic slave trade: Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the solemn duty of every minister of the gospel—of all religious denominations—of all political parties—of every state legislature—of the senators and representatives in Congress—and especially of the people of the non-slaveholding States—to lift up their voices in solemn and earnest remonstrance, unitedly, and to use all the means and influences in their power, against the admission of Texas into the American Union, with the curse and contagion of slavery upon its bloodstained soil.

Resolved, That every synod, conference, presbytery, yearly, quarterly, and monthly meeting, association or general assembly, which may convene before the next

session of Congress, be earnestly entreated to prepare a remonstrance to that body, in opposition to such annexation, in case application be made by the Texan government.

Resolved, That it is of vital importance immediately to agitate this great question throughout the land, in every suitable manner—that it ought to claim the special attention and be made a prominent topic of anti-slavery agents and newspapers during the present year; and that every man and every woman, who can write or make their mark, ought to affix their names to petitions, beseeching Congress promptly to refuse any application which may be made to it, on the part of Texas, for its incorporation into our already sufficiently extended country.

MISCELLANEOUS.

On motion of A. A. Phelps.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the executive committee, to call the next annual meeting of the society for the transaction of business, on Wednesday the week previous to the public anniversary.

On motion of William Goodell.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the executive committee to call a National Anti-Slavery Convention, at some place which they may designate, in the autumn of every year, at which all the state, county, and local societies shall be earnestly requested to send delegates, and in which all the friends of immediate emancipation may be cordially invited to participate, for the purpose of discussing important subjects connected with our enterprise, and devising the best methods of carrying it forward to its speedy and triumphant consummation.

Resolved, That the failure of the recent Pro-Slavery Convention, got up with great effort in Harrisburg, on the first of May inst., furnishes new occasion of gratitude to God, and fresh proof that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with Him.

Resolved, That the bold, independent and successful stand taken in favor of the "Integrity of the Union," and against slavery in that Convention, by Thaddeus Stevens, Esq., justly entitles him to the thanks of every lover of freedom.

A letter was received from Emmor Kimber, of Kimber-ton, Pa., proposing that the circumstances of the late outrage on John Hopper of this city, while in Savannah, Georgia, be represented to the chief magistrate of the nation. Whereupon, on motion of J. G. Whittier.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to represent the same to the Governor of this State, and request him to communicate them to the President of the United States.

Wm. Jay, Gerrit Smith, Henry Brewster, were appointed the committee.

On motion of John G. Whittier.

Resolved, That this society regards, as one of the most cheering signs of the times, the assembling of the Convention of American women, now in session in this city, to adopt measures, and mingle their prayers and sympathies with ours, for the redemption of our suffering brethren and sisters from slavery.

On motion of John E. Fuller.

Resolved, That this society recommend the formation of juvenile anti-slavery societies, in all our cities and towns, to the end that the rising generation may be instructed on the subject of human rights, and made to understand the true principles of civil and religious liberty; and that the members of such societies be invited to contribute each one cent a week to the cause.

The committee to nominate officers, made the following report, which was unanimously adopted:

OFFICERS.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, President.
Samuel Fessenden, Maine,
George Kent, New Hampshire,
Rowland T. Robinson, Vermont,
Francis Jackson, Massachusetts,
Josiah Cady, Rhode Island,
Eli Ives, Connecticut,
Gerrit Smith, New York,
Wm. R. Weeks, New Jersey,
Abr'm L. Pennock, Pennsylvania,
Samuel Smith, Delaware,
John Needles, Maryland,
James G. Birney, Ohio,
Nathaniel Field, Indiana,
David Nelson, Illinois,
Robert Stuart, Michigan,
Samuel P. Phenix, Wisconsin.

William Jay, } Secretaries of Correspondence,
Elizur Wright, }
A. A. Phelps, Recording Secretary.
John Rankin, Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Anti-Slavery Society, May 11th, Wm. Lloyd Garrison chairman, and John G. Whittier, Secretary, the following gentlemen were elected as the executive committee of the society for the ensuing year.

Arthur Tappan, Charles Follen,
Lewis Tappan, Theo. S. Wright,
John Rankin, Duncan Dunbar,
S. S. Jocelyn, Joshua Leavitt,
S. E. Cornish, E. Wright, jr.,
La Roy Sunderland, A. A. Phelps,
Attest, J. G. Whittier, Secretary.

COMMUNICATIONS.

The True Foundation of Liberty.

Messrs. Editors:

A free government is one which protects all the citizens in the enjoyment of their natural and essential rights. A just government, whenever it guarantees a right, enjoins a corresponding duty on each individual, to act in such a manner as will not violate the same right, as enjoyed by others. When such duties are disregarded, the government gives power to certain commissioned officers to punish the offender, so far as it may be necessary to protect the unoffending members of the community. Without these provisions a free government cannot exist: where they are wanting, either despotism or anarchy must inevitably prevail. Hence it follows, that liberty must be protected by authority, or it cannot be secured for a single hour.

Whence is liberty derived, and how is it guarded? It is derived from the benevolence of our Creator, and is protected by his authority. He has endowed all his intelligent creatures with a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and has enjoined on every man to act in such a manner as will not injure the life, liberty and happiness of his fellows. If God had not given us these rights, who else could give them? If his authority did not protect them, who else possesses authority to do it?

That is neither a government of liberty nor of justice, which allows the enjoyment of these rights to a part of the community, and denies them to another part; for God has given them to every man, and therefore justice is universal in its application.

If a King shall at his pleasure take away the liberty, or life, or happiness of his subjects, it is plain that he claims to be the only free man in the nation, and assumes authority to hold all others as his slaves. If a certain number of the people should make this claim, whether they be few or many, they would likewise constitute themselves the only free men in the nation, and would claim the right to hold all others as their slaves. When a small number exercise this power, we call them an aristocracy. And why not give the same appellation to a large number, if they do the same thing? Suppose a majority should pass laws which should secure their own rights only, and entitle them to take away the life, liberty, and happiness of the minority, would this not constitute the former the only free people, and the latter their slaves? A majority in our nation cannot do this, because the constitution controls the majority, and restrains them from all tyrannical action.

When any thing is done by a majority of the people, this, it is said, is an expression of the public will; for it is the will of the whole community that a majority should govern. Such a statement leaves an essential part of the truth out of view, and often makes a false impression. It is not the public will for a majority to govern, except the majority be themselves governed by the constitution; for they have not a title more authority over the constitution than those have who happen to be in the minority. The truth of the matter is, that we are bound to be governed by the will of the majority, so long only as the majority are governed by the will of God. His will is contained in the constitution of the United States, and the essential laws of that constitution are enjoined by his sovereign Majesty.

But was not the constitution formed by the people? and if it were now set aside, would not the people have full power to form another constitution, according to the good pleasure of their will? The answer is easy: they would have no right whatever to form a constitution upon opposite principles, but would be bound by the authority of that sovereign Ruler, who has "endowed all men with certain unalienable rights; among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." To say that the people have authority to set these essential rights aside, &c. to form a government in opposition to them, is to claim for them a right to do wrong, and to establish an absolute despotism.

Suppose the people should assume authority to make laws without a constitution, or to make a constitution not founded on the essential rights of every man, it is evident that any order of community that should be in the minority, would be subject to have their liberty or their lives taken away, on account of their religious opinions. The sovereign people have no right to interfere with any man's religion, for this plain reason, that Almighty God is lord of the human conscience. If the people, or a majority of them, pretend to have a right to prescribe any man's religious faith or conduct for him, they assume the prerogative of holding that man's conscience responsible to themselves. And what would this be but to place themselves in the temple of God, and to claim the grandeur of eternal divinity? We often hear great and just complaints of those kings and emperors, or of those popes and cardinals, who have presumed to hold their fellow men in a state of moral responsibility to themselves, and to murder them for their religious opinions; but let us be careful not to forget, or not to overlook the indubitable truth, that ten thousand men, or ten millions of them, have no more right to assume the prerogatives of the Almighty, than is possessed by an individual Pope or an individual Emperor. The government of a tyrannical mob is as absolute despotism, as that of any other tyrant in the universe.

Are these truths admitted? Then the great axiom stands, that this nation is under the sovereign authority of God, and that neither the people nor their representatives have any ruling power that is not derived from him.

If they have any other power, whence is it derived? Some Atheists have pretended that every man possesses it in himself, and that it has been conveyed to the body politic by a general bargain or compact. This supposes that it depends on human authority alone, whether men shall live together in society; whereas God has formed society, by the constitution of human nature. When the first child was born, a complete society was formed: the father, the mother and the son. If God had no authority over that family—if no obligations were imposed but such as resulted from their voluntary compact,—it follows, that so soon as Cain acquired strength sufficient, he had a perfect right to murder his father and mother, seeing he had never made a bargain with them, that their lives should be held sacred. When he killed his brother Abel, he could have justly excused himself by urging that he had never entered into any compact to regard the rights of the social state. He acted in virtue of his own original, undivided, independent, and individual sovereignty! He was his own sovereign, and had a right to kill any other sovereign that might stand in his way!

And besides, if the sole authority of government results from a human compact, how can that authority be perpetuated? There is scarcely a man now alive, who had any voice, directly or indirectly, in forming the Constitution of the United States. What right had our fathers to form a compact for us? If they came into being in a state of individual sovereignty, have we not come forth in the same state? Had they authority to make a bargain for unborn generations? If they had, from whence did they derive it? The Atheist must reply, that they had it in themselves. Then we have the same sovereignty in ourselves—and can form a new compact for posterity upon any principles we please, or rather, we may do it in defiance of all principles. Such, and more awful, are the fruits of Atheism!

If the people, as a body, derived their governing power from individual compact, each succeeding generation have as good a right to break the bargain, as the preceding had to form it; and if they did not derive it from this source, it must follow, either that they are totally destitute of all authority, or that they were "endowed" with it "by their Creator." If He bestowed it upon them, they are responsible to him for its exercise, and are bound to conform all their laws and administrations to those sacred mandates of divine sovereignty, which secure to every man (till forfeited by crime) the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This necessarily recognizes every man's right to pursue eternal happiness; therefore God has made every human conscience free, and holds it responsible to himself alone. From these truths we may deduce the following:

First, That the people have no other sovereignty than what God has bestowed upon them, and for the exercise of which they are accountable to him, both in their social and individual character.

Secondly, That when laws infringing the essential rights of individuals are enacted by a majority of a nation, the action of such majority is as tyrannical, as the same kind of action would be in a Nero, a Bonner, or a Robespierre.

Thirdly, That the phrase "self-government," whether predicated of a man or a nation, means no more than that the man or the nation has the capacity and the right to exercise his or their voluntary powers in obedience to the authority of God. Man has no right to govern himself independent of God's justice; otherwise we say he has a right to be a tyrant. Man has the capacity to govern himself, by submissively receiving energy from his Creator; but he is no more able to govern himself without God, than he is able to perpetuate his life, and to triumph in eternal self-sufficiency.

Fourthly, All individuals of a community, where laws are enacted and administered in accordance with those principles which secure man's essential rights, are bound by the authority of God, to obey the laws. Such rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.—Rom. 13, 2, 3. The practice of persuading the people that they are Sovereigns, and that all the officers of government are really their servants, is a practice deeply to be deplored. The Bible says the civil ruler "is the minister of God, a revenger, to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

They are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing.—Rom. 13, 1—6. Civil rulers, while employing all their time and talents in enacting and administering laws to protect the lives and to promote the liberty and happiness of all the people, are carrying into operation the great laws of the "Creator," whereby he has "endowed all men with inalienable rights;" consequently, such officers are more properly the ministers or servants of God, than they are the servants of the people. The latter justly hold a check upon their rulers, and can put them out of office; but they are all alike responsible to God for the exercise of their civil power.

You inform us in your 16th No., Messrs. Editors, that in the south, men have not the privilege "to talk about slavery in any other way than shall be prescribed by the majority." That "the minority are denied the privilege of free discussion. They are the slaves of the majority." In the same number you also give us the words of one in the slave country, far south as New Orleans, that "The great tyranny of Trades' Union is, that every body pursuing any one branch of the arts is compelled to act as the majority do. This is the most odious of all despotism."

Now I beseech you to consider what is implied in these propositions. If it be an odious despotism, to be compelled to act as the majority do, what must it be, to be compelled to suffer what the majority will not suffer!

Let your brother Editor of New Orleans not forget his acknowledgment, that a majority can exercise as "odious despotism" as any King or Emperor under heaven; and consequently, that it is altogether possible for a democratic government to be as tyrannical as a monarchy or an aristocracy.

The only way in which popular sovereignty can be exercised, is by a majority; but it is possible for a majority to rule in such a manner, as that others will be the "slaves," and their power may become "the most odious of all despotism;" therefore liberty is neither derived from, nor protected by, the sovereignty of the people. The people may rule, and yet the enslaved minority, as acknowledged by the editor of the True American, may groan under an "odious despotism." Consequently, the sovereignty of God, which protects every man's "unalienable rights," is the sole foundation of all civil and religious liberty. There never was a more gross mistake entertained by the human mind, than the supposition that liberty necessarily arises out of the principle, that a majority shall govern. So far from this, it necessarily arises out of the principle, that God has given every man essential rights, which the majority shall not violate. This alone is liberty; and God alone is the author of it. Human sovereignty can only protect liberty by obeying God; and the moment it disobeys him, it is a tyrant; and as much so, when assuming the smooth face of democracy, as it is under any other form whatever.

In opposition to all this, it is secretly inculcated by an insidious infidelity, that the authority of the people is the highest authority in the universe: that if there be a God, he has no right to interfere with man's political power. Nay more, that the acknowledgement of his existence is hostile to democratic liberty. If there be a God, say they, he will be a sovereign; and this interferes with the sovereignty of the people. The people, in order to enjoy liberty, must be independent of God's authority, in all political matters. Now these are gross and pernicious falsehoods; for it is God alone who has given essential liberty to every man, and his high and righteous sovereignty demands that it shall not be violated.

If there were no God, who could give us liberty? Could the people give it to us? Does this mean that every man could give it to himself? If not, it amounts to nothing more nor less than this, that we would receive it from a majority of the people. But you and the Editor of the True American have just conceded, that individuals may be made "slaves of the majority," and that it is possible for the majority to establish an "odious despotism." If they should do so, to what authority could the oppressed appeal? Most obviously, to the authority of God alone; and if there were no God, they could have no appeal. Hence the conclusion follows, that the infidel spirit which makes a hypocritical profession of being friendly to liberty, is laboring to introduce and to establish a state of interminable slavery amongst mankind. It is this political atheism, Messrs. Editors, which so seriously threatens the destruction of human happiness; and if you can show its inseparable connection with Southern slavery, I will give you credit for your ingenuity.

JUNIOUS.

Strictures on Notes.

Written as the outlines of an abolition speech, intended to be delivered at the close of an anti-slavery lecture in the town of—

NOTE.—No difference on the subject of slavery in the abstract; But as a practical question there is more difficulty about it."

Very true; were it not for the practical part of the question, I think it would be a very intangible subject. It is practical slavery, slavery as it is practised under the authority and patronage of that very people, who have declared their unshaken belief in these "self evident truths, that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;"—it is, the practical violation of this sacred "magna charta" of American rights, and of the rights of all men, thus solemnly proclaimed to the world, and attested by an appeal to Heaven, against which the Christian philanthropists of the present day feel bound "by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation," which is no other than the spirit of the gospel, to raise their voice with an energy that shall reach, not only from the center to the circumference of this guilty nation, but shall spread to every habitable part of the globe and extend to the latest period of time. It is against the sacrilegious violation of those sacred rights, in support of which our fathers appealed to Heaven, and drew the sword, and shed rivers of blood, that we are determined to wage,—not a war of powder and ball, and pointed steel,—but a war of moral force, and of weapons which are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds,—and we too appeal to Heaven to justify our cause; and confidently invoke the divine aid to enable us effectually to plead the cause of the dumb. And so sure as there is justice in heaven, "the crying of the poor, and the sighing of the needy" will be heard, and "judgment will be placed to the line, and righteousness to the plumb line."

NOTE.—"It is not admitted that holding slaves is in all circumstances sinful in the owner."

As the author of the notes has not told us in what circumstances it is not sinful, and as we know of none, it seems unnecessary to say much on this point—it may be sufficient to ask him to say under what circumstances he and his family might be held in slavery without sin in the owner.

NOTE.—"Admitting the sinfulness of slavery, there can be no propriety in delivering addresses on the subject, in a community where slavery does not exist."

Now, to me it does seem astonishing that a man possessing the information of the author of the notes, should

make this assertion; especially in the face of facts constantly staring us in the face, proving incontrovertibly that the pro-slavery spirit prevails to so alarming an extent, that the man who pleads for the principles of the declaration of independence, is exposed to all the violence of a lawless and infuriated rabble. Does he not know that the opposition to free principles,—the apologies and the vindications of slavery and slave-holders set up at the north, have a powerful tendency to keep the southern slave-holders in countenance? Has he not discernment enough to perceive that if his notes, or a more full and elaborate display of oratory of which the notes were intended as only an outline, had been delivered in public, and afterwards transferred to the public journals, that they would have been regarded in the south as a complete justification of their nefarious system? Who is there amongst us that does not know that the inveterate prejudice prevalent in the free states against the colored race, is one great cause of the continuation of slavery? There are other powerful causes, among which that of avarice stands pre-eminent, and this it is well known has its effects at the north as well as the south. Who is there that cannot perceive that the united voice of all the citizens of the free states pleading and remonstrating with the people of the south, would give strength to those in the slave states who are now mourning in secret over their beloved country; and that the moral energies of the friends of humanity and of the nation, in the north and in the south, would ultimately prevail? Look at the odious black laws of Ohio, and see a most conclusive evidence of the necessity of endeavoring to rectify public opinion at the north; and especially (though they are all odious and contemptible) the law that prohibits colored children from receiving education in our schools. We talk of their ignorance; and their unfittedness for freedom, on account of that ignorance; and yet by legislative encroachment, endeavor to perpetuate the ignorance of those who have obtained their freedom. Now, how can any intelligent and honest man, such as the author of the notes, "admitting the sinfulness of slavery;" say there is no need for labor in the free states!

NOTE.—"The only object that can be effected by lecturing in the free states, must be to operate upon public opinion and thereby to produce action in Congress upon the subject."

I have shown above that there are other objects to be attained by lecturing in the free states, besides producing action in Congress; but were this the only object to be gained, it would be a sufficient plea for far more active exertions to "operate on public opinion" than have heretofore been put in operation. This indeed ought to be a leading object and constantly kept in view; for, whenever slavery shall be abolished in the District of Columbia, the Government of the United States will be in a measure, freed from the foulest blot that ever stained the character of any nation. I say, foulest blot, because no other nation ever made such great pretensions to an ardent love of liberty, of freedom and of equal rights; and such loud, and long, and reiterated denunciations of all tyranny and oppression; and none ever maintained in her very heart a regular system of tyranny and oppression worse than that which now curses the Capitol of the United States. And whenever the abolition of slavery shall be accomplished in the District, the death-warrant of the system throughout the Union and the civilized world will be sealed, and the last relics of the detested monster, will soon be offered up on the sacred altar of freedom.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, JUNE 16, 1837.

Form of a Petition for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America:—

The undersigned citizens of respectfully ask, That your Honorable body exercise your constitutional powers for the total and immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

They ask it, because slavery is unjust, violating the rights both of God and man; because it corrupts public morals; because it is oppressive to the honest free laborer, and tends to make labor disreputable as well as unprofitable; because it brands our nation before the world as cruel and hypocritical; because persons are imprisoned in the District on mere suspicion of being "runaways," and not being proved to be such, are sold into perpetual slavery for the payment of their jail fees; because while slavery continues there must of necessity be a slave-trade; a trade, which has, by a solemn act of Congress, been declared PIRACY, when carried on upon the ocean; because its existence in a District over which Congress has "the right of exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever," involves the whole nation in the sin of slave-holding.

Again, your petitioners ask the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, because they deem it safe and practicable—safe, because it would make friends of those who have every reason to be our enemies; because the government of good laws is always safer than that of arbitrary will;—practicable, because it will only exchange an unnatural and forced system of labor for a natural and voluntary one, not annihilating the laborers or their labor, but merely making it necessary for employers to pay fair wages. Again they ask it, because it is demanded by the enlightened sentiment of the civilized world, by the principles of the revolution and by humanity.

Finally your petitioners feel bound, as men, as christians and as republicans, to urge this subject upon the attention of Congress, and from the exercise of this constitutional right, as well as the inalienable one of freely expressing their opinions, they can never cease till justice be done.

Letter from the Senior Editor.

Boston, June 3d, 1837.

MY DEAR SIR:—

Last evening, terminated the N. E. Anti-Slavery Convention, which continued in session four days. The number of Delegates was large—and together with the spectators filled every house that we occupied. Our business meetings were generally held in one of the Methodist churches; our meetings for public addresses in Salem street and Park street churches,—both Congregational. Application had been previously made for many of the other churches—in every instance I believe, a negative answer had been returned, where any at all was given. On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, our meetings were held in Salem street church, and addresses delivered to large Congregations by several of our speakers. On Thursday morning, beginning at 9 o'clock, we had our largest meeting at Park street church. The number in attendance was large, and the meeting continued till some time after one o'clock. This church is to the other churches here, as Dr. Beecher's would be regarded in relation to the other churches in Cincinnati. I suppose, hereafter, there will not be any difficulty in obtaining the use of a Church to hold our meetings in. All the meetings, especially that held in Park street, were attended by persons of distinction, who were not members of Anti-Slavery

Societies. Among them was Gov. Everett (as it is said) who heard some unpleasant truths in relation to his own

Great apprehension is entertained by our friends here, in relation to the annexation of Texas to the Union. I suppose, it will be attempted on the part of the administration, as one of the most efficient measures for securing the ascendancy of the slave-holding over the free states—a thing to which its head seems to be pledged, and to have nearly at heart. It is determined here, that great efforts shall be made to rouse the people to pour in their remonstrances against the annexation; by petitioning to Congress at the called session in September. Our abolition friends view the annexation as a great evil—some of them as almost tantamount to a dissolution of the Union. For one I believe, it will give an ascendancy to the slaveholding interest that will inspire such a haughtiness and domination in their politicians, that the Union will be no longer desirable to the free states. Although I would not make the fact of annexation the ground for dissolution, yet that it will lead to such a result on the part of the north I can entertain no doubt—unless we consent to become one great slave-holding nation. The fact of annexation ought to persuade us to look forward to the dissolution of the Union as an event which will in all probability take place, and for which we ought to prepare.

Yesterday, I went out with a friend, to Quincy to pay my respects to Mr. Adams. The republican plainness and simplicity and dignity of this venerable champion of our Liberties were much to my taste. No parade—no flourish—no loftiness—but the dignified affability of a republican gentleman. He fears the success of the administration in the annexation of Texas—brought about by the urgency of slaveholders, aided by the connivance or the indifference of the members of Congress from the free states. Mr. A. you will remember was prevented by the tyrannical proceeding of the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress, from presenting a large number of petitions that were in his hands from his immediate constituents and others. These, he seems determined to present, if such a thing be possible, at the next session. When I review what Mr. A. has done in defence of the liberties of his fellow citizens—and this too, with but little aid from those who ought to have stood by him—in the face of a majority whose opposition may well be termed *savage*; and when I see him at this late period of his life with the alacrity and determination that usually belong to younger men, defending the outposts and the citadel of his country's freedom, he has not only my highest admiration, but my sincerest gratitude. He will at least have the consolation of saying, if *Rome* must fall that *I am innocent*. May every abolitionist be enabled to say the same, and with equal conscientiousness.

The failure of the "Integrity of the Union" Convention, in Pennsylvania, seems not entirely to discourage the upholders of slavery in the north. You may have seen the address of the Republican members of the New York Legislature, in which the abolitionists are denominated *machinators of mischief*. This has been followed, as I have been told, by a call for an Anti-abolition Convention for the State of New York. I have no information of particulars—but it is part of the plan to preserve the Union at the expense of the degradation of the north, and by transferring all the political power of the government to the South. I do most earnestly wish, that these reiterated attempts against the North will rouse it up in its own defence—and that it will put forth proper action for its own safety and rescue before the fetters of a slaveholding despotism prevent it. I will yet hope for the best—although the supineness of our fellow citizens in such an exigency is in no small degree disheartening.

Yours, most sincerely,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

Funds.

We still must complain of the lukewarmness of our friends. We know not what reason they have to suppose, that our operations can go on without their aid. The following remarks from the Emancipator are in place:

"It is for such times as these to prove that the spirit of immediate abolitionism is not a momentary fair weather impulse, but a thorough consecration and self-sacrifice of the soul. The enemies of the cause, judging it by their own standard, suppose that if the money is cut off, abolition must stop. But they are mistaken. The commercial hurricane which prostrates the hope of the oppressor, will but excite the friends of the oppressed to the greater exertion. While the old oak of despotism begins to crack and groan at the roots they will strike the harder.

One word about the mode of raising funds in these times. There are some we believe, who can and will give of their abundance, but the reliance of the cause must be chiefly on the contributions of the many—the cents, sixpences, shillings and dollars of the people.—We would suggest, therefore, that in every place collectors should be appointed, who should make a list of names, and make regular application, weekly, monthly, or quarterly, as may be most convenient, for a sum amounting say to a cent a day, or sixpence a week, of each one who is willing to come into the plan.—There are few who cannot give in this way. Let the collectors meet at the concert of prayer for the slaves, and bring in their offerings; and let them be remitted as soon as they amount to \$5 or more. The women and children of themselves might support the cause if organized on this plan. Let us, dear friends, "work while it is day," next year it may be too late!"

To quicken the zeal of Ohio abolitionists, we republish the following, from the Ohio Atlas:

A NOBLE THOUGHT.

"A young mechanic in the county of Loin, without capital and not in business, at a recent anti-slavery Monthly Concert, dropped into the hat a subscription of THREE DOLLARS for the State Society, appended to which was the following pledge: 'Together with all I can earn on the 4th of July.'"

"To our Anti-Slavery Readers.—A friend having addressed to us a business letter, appends the following note—and adds:

"The above is a fact. It furnishes a text, from which, if you do not preach a sermon to your Anti-Slavery readers, I shall think you do not do your duty. It is a sentiment on which an angel must drop a tear of delight. If there was any virtue in the spirit of '76, it is here concentrated."

The editor of the Atlas, commenting on this circumstance, makes some remarks in relation to the Lorain Anti-Slavery Society, which are applicable to many Societies throughout the State.

"They profess to regard the cause in which the Society is engaged, as one of immense importance, identified with the temporal and eternal interests of Millions of their fellow men, and yet they do but little to sustain that cause; indeed, very little, when their circumstances are compared with those of the young man in our text.—Surely those, whose professions and practice so little correspond, ought to be ashamed.

Again; the young man, when he had a noble thought, accompanied it with a noble act. He thought of the next Fourth of July, and the spirit of Seventy Six—the Spirit of Freedom—kindled in his heart. He purposed to do all he could for the poor slaves, on the next anniversary of Freedom's natal day, and he sealed that purpose with a present deed of three dollars to the cause of Freedom."

"Wise Legislation."

The speech of Mr. Cushing, on the proposition to censure John Quincy Adams, is distinguished in many parts of it by justness of thought and vigor of expression.

The subject of the extract is introduced not as a specimen of his general merits, but a text on which a few comments may be profitable.

Mr. Cushing, after speaking of the sentiment adopted by distinguished statesmen at the North and South, that slavery is a great moral, social, and political evil,

"Said he was free to declare for himself, that while he partook of the general sentiment of the country as to the abstract question, yet, the practical hereafter was to his view dark and utterly inscrutable. He would not be the fool to rush in where angels fear to tread. He had no formed opinions, no convictions, no settled judgment, as to the future of this momentous question. He did not possess a spirit of prophecy, or an eye of divination, to give him the indispensable elements of such a judgment; and he held his mind in suspense upon the subject, just as he did in regard to mysterious facts in the constitution of the material universe. When the question shall come before him in a practical shape, he would then deal with it as he best might, according to his means of knowledge. Wise legislation, like sound philosophy, was the result of induction. It was unphilosophical, unsafe, unwise, unstatesmanlike, to lay down abstract metaphysical propositions, independent of any specific fact, and to draw them into rigorous rules for contingent future action, regardless of incidental circumstances, and of the relations of time and place.

This (continued Mr. C.) is the error committed by some of the abolitionists, in the excess of their zeal to promote the abolition of domestic servitude. It is equally the error of those who deem slavery either an abstract good or at least a necessity of the social system. Gentlemen at each end of these remotest extremes of opinions are to be seen cutting loose from practical facts to bewilder themselves in the mazy subtleties of mere abstraction. And thus I find myself in the singular predicament of addressing to the ultra friends of liberty at home, and the ultra-friends of slavery here, the same arguments of moderation."

The assertion that *wise legislation, like sound philosophy, is the result of induction*, we are not willing to receive in an unqualified sense. The laws of natural philosophy may properly be said to be the "result of induction." They are in truth facts generalized. Principles and laws in moral philosophy are not the product of induction. Reason did not discover that it was right we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us. Induction never yet led to the knowledge of a single moral principle. Human understanding was too infirm to draw the consequences dependent on a due knowledge of right and wrong were too awful, and the connection of human action with the interests of God's moral government was too complicated and extensive, for man to be left to his own power for the ascertainment of moral good and evil. Violation of natural laws incurs a penalty limited in its extent; but the transgression of moral laws is pregnant with results which Omniscience alone can comprehend. Conscience and revelation are the sources of our ideas of right and wrong—of our principles of morality.

Legislation is employed on different subjects. Its operations do not always involve principles of morality, and are then to be regulated chiefly by the maxims of expediency. These may be the "result of induction," so that "wise legislation" in such cases is correctly said to be "like sound [natural] philosophy," the result of induction. But legislation concerns at times the natural rights of individuals, and affect subjects of a moral nature; in which case, it ought to be primarily controlled by the principles of a sound morality. Null and void must it be in the eyes of the universal law-giver, and of any of his obedient subjects, just so far as it shall trespass on moral rectitude. "Abstract metaphysical propositions," if Mr. Cushing please, are precisely what ought to determine the character of this species of legislation.

"Abstract Metaphysical Propositions—Abstractions," &c.

It is deplorable that politicians should so often have found it necessary to divorce legislation and morality—to violate great moral truths, because they happen to be designated abstractions. The duty of loving our neighbor as ourselves is an abstract metaphysical proposition, "independent of any specific fact," and yet we think it not "unphilosophical, unsafe, unwise, unstatesmanlike," to draw it out into a rigorous rule for contingent future action, regardless of incidental circumstances, and of the relations of time and place." Doubtless there is many a statesman, who will dissent from this opinion. He would deem it very visionary to act out this great duty in a public way, before first examining whether it might not have an injurious influence on the wealth or stability of the Union. That he, who is legislating for a nation should bow down in implicit belief of the excellence of God's law, is by no means statesmanlike. The interests of the community demand that he should look to it, that there be no defects in this law, which may render its application inexpedient.

Abstract principles are good for nothing, if they are not to be applied. So thought our fathers. They rebelled because of "abstractions," they bled for "abstractions." Doubtless, if they had had the wisdom of our modern statesmen, they would have been better philosophers than to have drawn out these abstractions into "rigorous" rules for conduct.

A rigid adherence to principles in every art and science, except in morals and legislation, is accounted necessary to perfection of attainment. If the machine do not work well, the machinist is glad to recur to first principles, sure of detecting his failure in a departure from them. The chemist knows that his experiment will be vain, if he violate chemical laws. They are aware in their respective operations, that principles are fixed, and cannot be bent to suit their caprice or circumstances; so that all the conforming must be on their side. The legislator may be more statesmanlike, but he is less wise than they, when, repudiating correct principles, he calculates on profitable results. Does he imagine that God has so firmly established natural principles, that no circumstance can make it expedient for the philosopher practically to disregard them; and yet left the principles of right and wrong so loose and fluctuating, that men may teach and legislate in direct contravention of them, without fatal consequences? We have a better ground for our faith in the truth of moral principles than in the truth of the laws of natural philosophy. These laws we have deduced from observation; and their truth and importance can be affirmed only so far as our observation reaches. But the principles of morality are inscribed on our hearts by the finger of God. We feel that they are not confined to time or place, but are eternal and universal; while the effects flowing from obedience or disobedience to them, are measurable only by the eye of infinite wisdom.

If men could put off their accountability, when acting as a body corporate; or if a man in becoming a statesman were released from his obligations to a Supreme Being; there might be some show of reason for the little homage governments are disposed to render to morality. But nations are under the same bonds to obey God as individuals, and the Supreme Governor no more permits expediency to weigh against right in the mind of a law-giver or jurist than in that of the subject of law. These are truths so commonly admitted, that they will be termed common-place; but, like all other moral truths, while admitted as such in the abstract, in practice they are contradicted by men, no less eminent for excellent morals, than great mental attainments.

In the report of an opinion by John Marshall, on a claim for slaves, recently published in the Gazette, we find the following paragraph:

"Whatever might be the answer of a moralist to this question, a jurist must search for its legal solution in those principles which are sanctioned by the usages, national acts, and general aspect of that portion of the world of which he considers himself a part, and to whose law the appeal is made."

It must be remembered that the question was necessarily a moral as well as a legal one; that it concerned the inalienable rights of human nature; and yet it is distinctly intimated that the moralist and jurist must here part company; that the jurist is to search for its legal solution in human authorities. The phrase, *legal solution*, ought not to blind our minds to the truth. The *legal solution*, was the actual solution of the question—a solution which was followed by delivering up to the Spanish pirates, human beings whom they had stolen. This decision to us appears clearly to have involved a sacrifice of moral principle. In the same opinion, Judge Marshall had previously expressed himself as follows:

"That if [the slave-trade] is contrary to the law of nature, will scarcely be denied. That every man has a right to the fruits of his own labor, is generally admitted; and that no other person can rightfully deprive him of these fruits, and appropriate them against his will, seems to be the necessary result of this admission."

Three propositions are substantially contained in this extract. 1. The slave-trade is contrary to the law of God. 2. God has given to every man a right to the fruits of his own labor. 3. God has forbidden any other person to deprive him of these fruits, and appropriate them against his will.

Judge Marshall thus may be said to lay down the law of God in the case. But does this decide the question? With a mind entirely convinced of the paramount claims of this law, it would decide it. But the jurist must have regard to another authority—even to those principles which are sanctioned by the "usages, national acts, and general aspect of that portion of the world of which he considers himself a part." Those principles and the law of God are directly opposed. The jurist knows it, and yet dares to reverse a saying which was once considered praise-worthy—it is better to obey God than man. There is always an easy way for a Judge to extricate himself from the duty of carrying out or administering an iniquitous law—let him resign his office.

Mr. Cushing may imagine that it is "wise legislation" to continue slavery for a time in the District of Columbia. We should like to know by what authority he lends his aid to perpetuate what he considers a moral evil—in other words, a violation of God's law. Has he ever received a dispensation from the Almighty to commit sin? Legislation, if it have any binding force, derives it ultimately from the Supreme Law-giver. Is it to be supposed, that he will lay aside the eternal principles of justice to sanction a legislation which upholds a system of wickedness? The laws of Heaven, we thought, were irreversible. The principles of morality, we thought, would forever be imperious in their claims. Our legislators, in their statesmanlike sagacity, venture to repeal those laws, to violate these principles. And what is their plea? "Ah, it will not do to bewilder ourselves in the mazy subtleties of mere abstraction. We are practical men. There are 'incidental circumstances' in this case, which create a just exception to the application of your abstract moral truths." Have they forgotten that God ordained his laws to be obeyed, without providing for any exception? There is no imperfection in the works of God. If any case could ever occur in which the principles on which he conducts his moral government would be inadmissible, his infinite wisdom would have foreseen it, and provided an exception for it. Has this been done? Has the Deity ever revealed that, "incidental circumstances" would occasionally occur, in which the consequences of acting out the principles of right would be so disastrous, as to justify the commission or perpetuation of wrong? He who can answer in the affirmative, and point out the particulars of a revelation of this sort, will confer a signal benefit on the school of expediency.

But there is no such revelation. It is man that has charged the Almighty with folly. A few statesmen at Washington, whose breath is in their nostrils, hardly known in the universe of God; thinking that the laws which God has ordained for the good government of the world, would, if enforced in a little spot of earth ten miles square, produce disasters outweighing all the evils resulting from their violation, take upon themselves the responsibility of annulling the decrees of the most High, and practically say, that in this case at least, they can govern more wisely than He.

The same reason, for which man is not left to his own powers to form his moral principles, explains why obedience to these principles is not left to turn on his view of the consequences resulting from it. His knowledge is too limited, his understanding too feeble, to trace out all the consequences which may flow from his actions. Hence any rule of morality built upon such an effort must be defective. So far as his vision reaches, it may seem that a certain act will be beneficial; but only a minute portion of God's universe is submitted to his notice; and besides, he lives among beings independent like himself; and by whose conduct this act may be in its consequences entirely perverted from its original design. It was wise therefore, and merciful, that we should be endowed with certain natural perceptions of right and wrong, guided by whose light, our actions, no matter how inauspicious in their apparent tendencies, would ultimately be entirely beneficial.

When will governments come back to the first principles of morality, and in all their acts involving right and wrong, take the teachings of God's word as the rule of law? Never until man shall refrain from putting asunder what God has joined together—Abstract Truth and Practical Duty—Abstract Justice and the Highest Expediency—the first always the source and standard of the latter.

Slaves Indicted.

Captain Cox, of the schooner Emperor, and others implicated, have been indicted at Apalachicola, for bringing eight African negroes from Cuba. The negroes are now in the custody of the United States' Deputy Marshal at Apalachicola.

What a pity Captain Cox did not lay in his cargo at Washington City. Uncle Sam will never prosecute a soul-trader, so long as he acts by authority of Congress.

[Ed. Phil.]

Infatuation of Slave-holders.

The miserable inconsistency of American slave-holders is proverbial. The most glaring instance of it we have seen lately, is furnished by an editorial in the New Orleans True American. Talking of the conduct of the Chief Executive, he says, "Our forefathers resisted the government, for presuming to lay taxes without their consent. War and independence were the glorious result. And who would not battle in the cause of personal rights?" Does he think this so admirable? What praise then would he not bestow on a certain class of men should they take the example of his forefathers?

Again, he says—"But recent indications teach us that the spirit of '76 is not yet extinguished in our breasts! Resistance, *et cetera*, is the dernier resort of an outraged and abused people." The man must be demented to preach such a doctrine as this among the outraged and abused slaves of Louisiana. The truth is, the less slaveholders say about the spirit and doctrines of '76, the heroic struggles of our forefathers, &c. &c., the better. They never can commend the Revolution without condemning their own conduct, and instigating their slaves to revolt. By the way, such inflammatory sentiments as the above should subject their author to the special notice of the Constitutional and Anti-fanatical association of New Orleans.

Slavery—a National Institution.

Slavery is a national or domestic concern, just as it may suit the interest of the slave-holder to have it. The North, when it pleads for free discussion is told that slavery is a domestic institution, and its citizens have no right to intermeddle with it. But let a few American slaves be wrecked on British coasts, or some movement be contemplated by a foreign power, which may indirectly threaten the stability of their system, and all at once it becomes a national affair. The slaves must be recovered; general government must peremptorily demand that British institutions yield to Southern slavery. The dangerous movement must be arrested; general government must interpose, even at the risk of pouring out the blood and treasure of the North, and bid the world beware doing any thing which may disturb the domestic institutions of the South! And yet this domestic institution, which the nation is called upon to uphold, and bound to defend from external injury, and internal danger, the nation must not examine, must not discuss. The North must give itself no trouble about that which is probably destined to draw on its resources for protection in the time of need! Let slave-holders agree to the abrogation of all those clauses in the Constitution which are designed for their benefit; let them never call upon general government in any case, to protect the interests of their slave system, or to counteract evils arising out of it; then the plea that it is a domestic institution may at least have some speciousness.

The Mobile Register remarks, upon the rumored cessation of Cuba to Great Britain, that—

"There may be something in the rumored intention to make the offer, but Great Britain is wise enough not to take it; and the United States are, we think, predetermined not to allow it, should the temptation be too strong for John Bull to resist. The British Government must be fully aware of the deep interest with which the condition of Cuba is regarded by ours. In the hands of a power like Spain, not possessed of any extensive commerce, and too weak to hold more than a nominal dominion over so large an island, it has given us little anxiety and no alarm. Its immense slave population lives quietly under an administration, that takes no pains to plague its neighbors with wild and dangerous experiments, and the proximity to our shores is regarded with no uneasiness. Its physical position, commanding all the entrances to the Gulf of Mexico, is in the hands of Spain, no obstruction to our commerce. But, under the sway of such a commercial nation, and so mighty a maritime power as Great Britain, Cuba would secure her immense slave trade without the possibility of a check. This the British Government well knows, that this Government could not permit, and would resist by the force of arms. We can neither allow the emancipation schemes, that are disorganizing Jamaica and the British West Indies, to be brought to the doors of the slave-holding States, for evil inculcable to their quiet; nor can any nation other than Spain, but by conquest over us, take up a position which will leave half of our entire commerce under a perpetual foreign check. Any change in the condition of Cuba, must be controlled by the United States, and we do not believe that, with a clear understanding of the fact, Great Britain will accept of any transfer, should it be proposed."

And so our nation must, if necessary, go to war with Great Britain to prevent her taking possession of Cuba, because she might restore the degraded slaves of this island to the rank of men! What a glorious war would this be—a chief object of which should be to stop the progress of free principles. [Ed. Phil.]

The Spirit of Slavery Rebuked.

From the Pennsylvania Sentinel.

Commonwealth, Recorder's Court, N. L. vs. Assault and Battery.

This case came on for trial before the Recorder's Court of the Northern Liberties, on Thursday last. In the course of the investigation, the facts laid in evidence proved one of the most brutal and unprovoked outrages upon helpless infancy and unprotected weakness, which ever reached our ears. The defendant was superintendent of a large manufactory in Kensington; whilst in this situation he had occasion to employ a number of children to aid in the work; among others, Edward Simpson, a handsome intelligent child, eleven years of age, a witness on the part of the Commonwealth, was hired to him by his father, for the wages of \$1 50 per week. Sometime in August last, the boy became weak, and in consequence absented himself from the factory for a day and a half; whilst absent his brother attended in his place, and regularly discharged his duty. On his return to the factory, Bottomly inquired into the cause of his absence; not satisfied with his explanation of the cause, commenced a violent attack on him with a piece of board. So severe were the blows inflicted, that the instrument of flagellation was broken in two. Not yet satisfied with the extent of the punishment, he then picked up a piece of the head of a barrel, about eighteen inches long, three wide, and half an inch thick. With the side and edge of this he continued to beat the boy over the back, loins, shoulders and head, until, to use the language of the child, the sufferer did not know when he ceased to beat him. It was proved that the punishment was of the most severe character. He was bruised from his elbow to his knees, and in many places the skin and flesh were lacerated and torn. In this condition he was refused permission to go home, but set to work with the other boys until discharged at the breakfast hour. On his return home, the blood which had oozed from his body, had stiffened with his shirt, the latter clinging to the wounds on his back.

The defence set up by Bottomly was, that the boy had frequently absented himself from the factory without his permission; that the power of corporal punishment was essential to the regulation of a large factory, and that the boy's mother had delegated to the defendant her authority to punish her son.

The case was submitted to the jury without argument, subject to the charge of the court.

The court charged the jury distinctly; that the contract of hiring between an employer and men or boys, invested the former with no authority to inflict bodily chastisement; that the employer and employed were, in all respects, equal in law; and the right of personal security by each must be regarded as inviolable by the other; that there existed in law, and in fact, no necessity for investing the owners of manufactories with the power of arbitrary and degrading flagellation, a power which the law did not itself exercise, even in the case of a criminal; that the parent of a child had not in law the power to hire his child to another, delegating to the employer the right to chastise; nor had he the power himself to exceed the bounds of moderate salutary correction.

The jury retired about five minutes, and on their return into court, found a verdict of "Guilty."

Who does not burn with indignation at the recital of such an act of cruelty? And yet they who venture to express indignation at a system which is the legitimate parent of uncounted deeds of equal or surpassing cruelty, must be branded as fanatics.

We have published the above, however, chiefly to show the radical difference between Northern service and Southern slavery—between the spirit of free, and the spirit of slave institutions.

An employer has no right to inflict bodily chastisement.

The parent cannot even delegate this right. The employer and employed are in all respects equal in law; and the right of personal security by each must be regarded as inviolable by the other. This is the genius of freedom. Here is the theory of natural rights beautifully exemplified. There is no such law against the Bottomlys of the South. When slave-holders again insult the spirit of Liberty, by comparing the condition of their plundered slaves with the free, law-protected laborers of the North, let us ask them whether in their country the employer and employed are equal in law; or whether the "authority to inflict bodily chastisement," and that of the severest and most degrading sort, is not only the privilege of the master, but the life-blood of the system by which he forces labor? How often must the child suffer and the mother wall before Justice pronounces the torturer guilty?—Ed. P.

Naval Progress.

The New Orleans papers contain an official account of a terrible engagement between the Texan government vessel, Independence, and two Mexican brigs of war.—After a hot action of four hours and thirty minutes, in which divers broadsides were given, masts shot away, sails riddled, and gun-carriages unshipped, the Independence surrendered. On board the Independence—killed, none; missing, none; wounded one—to wit, Captain Wheelwright, whom an unmanly round shot pushed in the side, knocking "the speaking-trumpet out of his hands, and terribly lacerating three of his fingers!"

The Texans seem to have as happy a faculty for dodging as for fighting.

LOAN TO TEXAS.

Commissioners have been appointed by the Government to proceed to this country for the purpose of effecting a loan of \$5,000,000. What is the security? If public lands, how many other men's lands are on the top of them? as was said by a man who bought a farm, and after paying for it, discovered a secret mortgage. The land companies in New York cover all Texas five times over.—Public Ledger.

TRAFFIC IN SLAVES.

The Legislature of the State of Mississippi have passed a law prohibiting the introduction of slaves into that State, for sale or hire. The penalty is a fine of five hundred dollars, and imprisonment from one month to six months for each slave imported. All contracts for purchase or hire are declared void. The law passed on the 11th of May, and took effect from its passage.—Cin. Gaz.

The Legislature has doubtless found out, that in this case at least, "justice is the highest expediency."—Ed. Phil.

Junius.

We call the attention of our friends to the article over this signature. It is full of important truths.

"Strictures on Notes," &c.

The author of these will perceive our intention of dividing this article. It is too long to insert the whole at once.

From the Cincinnati Daily Gazette.

Agreeably to previous notice, a large and respectable meeting of colored citizens was held in Bethel church, on Friday evening, June 3d. John Hatfield was called to the chair, and Owen T. Barton Nickens appointed Secretary.

The chairman called the house to order. The meeting was opened with prayer; after which, A. D. Barber made some pertinent remarks, relative to the object of the meeting, and was followed by Mr. Hopkins.

The following preamble and resolutions were presented and adopted:

PREAMBLE.

Knowing that Sabbath-breaking, gambling, drinking, and lewdness, with their kindred vices, prevail to some extent among us, corrupting the youth, drawing down the odium of the virtuous part of the community, and the just judgments of Heaven:

Know that the history of the world unites her testimony with the Bible, in declaring that SIN is a REPROACH TO ANY PEOPLE, and that RIGHTEOUSNESS ALONE EXALTETH A NATION; we feel ourselves called upon as parents, as guardians, as neighbors, as citizens, as lovers of virtue; and as christians, to use every lawful and virtuous means, to roll back the tide of social and moral death, that threatens to destroy our youth, and to bury, in a grave of infamy, all that is lovely and of good report.—Therefore,

Resolved, That, whereas one sinner destroyeth much good, it is the duty of parents strictly to watch over their children, and keep them from the society of the intemperate, the idle, the licentious, and the Sabbath-breaker.

Resolved, That all professing christian parents, who suffer their children to profane the Sabbath, by strolling through the streets, and engaging in sports, plays and amusements, are unworthy of the name of christians, and deserve to be censured by the true church of God.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, all houses or places where the poison alcohol is kept and administered, (whether in the lively of beer, whiskey, gin, rum, brandy, or whatever form,) ought to be proscribed by public sentiment, and regarded as public nuisances.

Resolved, That a committee of vigilance, consisting of ten persons, be appointed to take special cognizance of the conduct and morals of both children and adults; to advise and remonstrate with them to be orderly in their conduct, and chaste in their morals; and in cases of flagrant abuse of civil, moral and religious regulations, to bring offenders before a legal tribunal, to answer for the abuse of privileges.

Resolved, That disorderly acts committed by persons who have frequently been admonished and reproved, not punishable by law, shall be published in large assemblies of the people.

The following persons were appointed a vigilance committee:

Owen T. B. Nickens, Joseph Fowler, John Liverpool, George Cary, Thos. Bascoe, Thos. Crisp, John Hatfield, H. Cummings, Anthony Bascoe.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to wait on his honor, the Mayor of the city to report our proceedings.

Messrs. Joseph Fowler, George Cary, Charles Satchell, were appointed said committee.

JOHN HATFIELD, Chairman.

O. T. B. NICKENS, Secretary.

NOTICES.

DIED.

On the 10th inst., GEORGE WILLARD, only child of Rev. Asa Drury, aged 11 months and 19 days.

RECEIPTS.

Per E. WEBB, Financial Agent, Ashabula county, on pledge, \$80 57
Unionville, Geauga co., 50 00
Ashabula co., society for colored schools, 20 49
Leicester Bissell, individual, pledge, 10 00

\$161 06

FOR PHILANTHROPIST.

Cyrus Wilson, 2 00
Thomas Heaton, 2 00
Nicholas Pleasant, 2 00
T. J. Keep, 2 00
John Parker, 2 00
Samuel Harris, 2 00
Henry Harris, 2 00
Ira Smith, 2 00
Charles Morton, 2 00
J. H. Fisk, 2 00
Wm. Willard, 2 00
Rufus Harris, 2 00
J. C. Stevens, 2 00
E. B. Scott, 2 00
C. Cunningham, 2 00
Augustus Gleason, 2 00
Caleb S. Stratton, 2 00
Amos Merriam, 2 00

\$197 06

POETRY.

From the Liberator.

SOUTH SCITUATE, April 24, 1837.

My Dear Friend,

The following touching lines were written, a short time since, by a young lady, in one of our common schools. They were suggested by the story, you may have seen in the Eclectic Reader, of a slave who resolved to obtain the freedom of his mother. After years of toil, he had accumulated the sum demanded as the price of her redemption. But, in the mean time, his mother had grown old, not only so, she had become sick, and seemed to be at the point of death. His master therefore, remonstrated with him—saying that it would be no better than wasting the fruits of all his labor, for it could do his mother no good—she would not live to enjoy it. Then, cried he, she shall die free.

Yours, &c. S. J. M.

"My Mother shall die Free!"

I promised it to the Great Spirit, when she was sold, and I will throw away the money, if I do not buy her free!

When she was sold in bondage,
Who nursed my infant years,
Who smiled upon me in my joy,
And soothed me in my tears—

I knelt to God Almighty,
And pledged by his great name,
Her spirit should return to him,
As free as when it came.

Since then, with all the vigor
Of a strong arm and soul,
With all the power that Heaven has lent,
I've pressed towards that goal.

I know the yoke of bondage
Must ever rest on me;
But if there is a God in heaven,
My mother shall die free.

THE PAST.

From Zion's Herald.
Old-Fashioned Abolitionism.

MR. EDITOR:—While, as a general thing, the friends of the Herald congratulate themselves on its improved character and condition—in some few instances I have heard the sentiment expressed, that it was a little too highly seasoned with modern abolitionism. To neutralize the effects of some of this high seasoning, I propose to furnish a few extracts from a pamphlet on ancient abolitionism. This little work was given me, by one of the oldest members of the New England Conference, now living. It was published in Philadelphia, for Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, in 1804, at which time it was made the duty of Methodist preachers to give it a general circulation. The author, a Presbyterian minister, delivered this address before a State Convention, held at Danville, Kentucky.

MAR 3. J. HORTON.
Sir, I have lived free, and in many respects happy, for near sixty years; but my happiness has been greatly diminished, for much of the time, by hearing a great part of the human species groaning under the galling yoke of bondage. In time I lost a venerable father, a tender mother, two affectionate sisters, and a beloved first-born son; but all these together have not cost me half the anxiety that has been occasioned by this wretched situation of my fellow men, whom without a blush I call my brethren. When I consider their deplorable state, and who are the cause of their misery, the load of misery that lies on them, and the load of guilt on us for imposing it on them; it fills my soul with anguish. I view their distresses, I read the anger of Heaven, I believe that if I should not exert myself, when, and as far, as in my power, in order to relieve them, I should be partaker of the guilt.

A slave is a human creature made by law the property of another human creature, and reduced by mere power to an absolute unconditional subjection to his will. This definition will be allowed to be just, with only this exception, that the law does not leave, the life and the limbs of the slave entirely in the master's power; and from it may be inferred several melancholy truths, which will include a sufficient answer to the main question.

In order to a right view of this subject, I would observe, that there are some cases, where a man may justly be made a slave by law. By vicious conduct he may forfeit his freedom; he may forfeit his life. Where this is the case, and the safety of the public may be secured by reducing the offender to a state of slavery, it will be right; it may be an act of kindness. In no other case, if my conceptions are just, can it be vindicated on principles of justice or humanity.

As creatures of God we are, with respect to liberty, all equal. If one has a right to live among his fellow creatures, and enjoy his freedom, so has another; if one has a right to enjoy that property he acquires by an honest industry, so has another. If I by force take that from another, which he has just right to according to the law of nature, (which is a divine law,) which he has never forfeited, and to which he has never relinquished his claim, I am certainly guilty of injustice and robbery; and when the thing taken is man's liberty, when it is himself, it is the greatest injustice. I injure him much more, than if I robbed him of his property on the high-way. In this case, it does not belong to him to prove a negative, but to me to prove that such forfeiture has been made, because, if it has not, he is certainly still the proprietor. All he has to do is to show the insufficiency of my proofs.

A slave claims his freedom, he pleads that he is a man, that he was by nature free, that he has not forfeited his freedom, nor relinquished it. Now unless his master can prove that he is not a man, that he was not born free, or that he has forfeited or relinquished his freedom, he must be judged free; the justice of his claim must be acknowledged. His being long deprived of this right, by force or fraud, does not annihilate it; it remains; it is still his right. When I rob a man of his property, I leave him his liberty, and a capacity of acquiring and possessing more property; but when I deprive him of liberty, I also deprive him of this capacity; therefore I do him greater injury, when I deprive him of his liberty, than when I rob him of his property. It is in vain for me to plead that I have the sanction of law; for this makes the injury the greater, it arms the community against him, and makes his case desperate.

If my definition of a slave is true, he is a rational creature reduced by the power of legislation to the state of a brute, and thereby deprived of every privilege of humanity, except as above, that he may minister to the ease, luxury, lust, pride, or avarice of another, no better than himself.

We only want a law enacted that no owner of a brute, nor other person, should kill or maim him, and then in law the case of a slave and a brute is in most respects parallel; and where they differ, the state of the brute is to be preferred. The brute may steal or rob, to supply his hunger; the law does not condemn him to die for his offence, it only permits his death; but the slave, though in the most starving condition, dare not do either, on penalty of death, or some severe punishment.

Is there any need of arguments to prove, that it is in a high degree unjust and cruel, to reduce one human creature to such an object wretched state as this, that he may minister to the ease, luxury, or avarice of another? Has not the same right to have him reduced to this state, that he may minister to his interest or pleasure? On what is this right founded? Whence was it derived? Did it come from heaven, from earth, or from hell? Has the great King of heaven, the absolute sovereign disposer of all men, given this extraordinary right to white men over black men? Where is the charter? In whose hands is it lodged? Let it be produced and read, that we may know our privilege.

This reducing men to an indignity, a degradation to our own nature. Had we not lost a true sense of its worth and dignity, we should blush to see it converted into a brute. We should blush to see our houses filled with slaves, surrounded with cattle in our own shape. We should

look upon it to be a fouler, a blacker stain, than that which the vertical suns have traced the blood of Africa. When we plead for slavery, we plead for the degradation and ruin of our own nature. If we are capable of it we may even after claim kindred with the brutes, and renounce our own superior dignity.

In 1804, it was made the duty of Methodist preachers to give the above a general circulation.

In 1836, a General Conference of Methodist preachers could not be prevailed on to say, they were as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. In 1837, the Baltimore Conference resolves that the domestic slave-trade is not sinful in itself. And in 1837, Methodists in the South are so devoted in their attachment to slavery that they are almost ready to divide this church, for the sake of arresting abolitionism.

Which has made the more rapid progress in the great church—the cause of oppression, or the cause of human liberty? And will God hold her guiltless!—Ed. Phil.

Sentiments in 1787.

Luther Martin, delegate from Maryland to the Federal Convention of 1787, in his report to the Speaker of the House of Delegates, of transactions in the Convention, states that the clause in the Constitution concerning the slave-trade, was not adopted without considerable opposition. The reasons for this opposition he details, and expresses his concurrence with them.

It will be seen that the minority were influenced by genuine abolition sentiments, but could not make head against those who were so statesmanlike as to choose expediency for their standard of conduct. [Ed. Phil.]

"It was said, that we had just assumed a place among independent nations, in consequence of our opposition to Great Britain to *enslave us*; that this opposition was grounded upon the preservation of those rights, to which God and nature had entitled us, not in particular, but in common with the rest of all mankind—That we had appealed to the Supreme Being for his assistance, as the God of freedom, who could not but approve our efforts to preserve the rights which he had thus imparted to his creatures; that now, when we had scarcely risen from our knees, for supplicating his aid and protection—in forming our government over a free people, a government formed pretentiously on the principles of liberty and for its preservation; in that government to have a provision not only putting it out of its power to restrain and prevent the slave-trade, but even encouraging that most infamous traffic, by giving the states power and influence in the Union, in proportion as they cruelly and wantonly sport with the rights of their fellow creatures, ought to be considered a mockery, of an insult to that God whose protection we had then implored, and could not fail to hold us up in detestation, and render us contemptible to every true friend of liberty in the world. It was said, it ought to be considered that national crimes can only be, and frequently are, punished in this world by national punishments, and that the continuance of the slave-trade, and thus giving it a national sanction and encouragement, ought to be considered as justly exposing us to the displeasure and vengeance of Him, who is equally Lord of all, and who views with equal eye, the poor African slave and his American master!"

"That slavery is inconsistent with the genius of republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates us to tyranny and oppression. It was further urged, that by this system of government, every state is to be protected from foreign invasion and from domestic insurrections; that from this consideration, it was of the utmost importance it should have a power to restrain the importation of slaves, since in proportion as the number of slaves were increased in any state, in the same proportion the state is weakened and exposed to foreign invasion, or domestic insurrection, and by so much less will it be able to protect itself against either; and therefore will by so much the more, want aid from, and be a burthen to the Union. It was further said, that as in this system we were giving the general government a power under the idea of national character, or a national interest, to regulate even our weights and measures, and have prohibited all possibility of emitting paper money, and passing insolvent laws, &c. it must appear still more extraordinary, that we should prohibit the government from interfering with the slave-trade, than which nothing could so materially affect both our national honor and interest. These reasons influenced me both on the committee and in the convention, most decidedly to oppose and vote against the clause, as it now makes a part of the system."

These sentiments are now advocated by a comparatively small portion of the American people, who, on account of such advocacy, are styled "fanatics." Truly the "poison" of slavery has worked with fearful rapidity. In '87, statesmen could denounce slavery without risk of being called to an account, as officious intermeddlers and enemies to the public peace. In 1837, an eminent statesman was called to a most serious account for venturing to stand up in defence of the lowest right of human nature—the right of petition. Behold the march of American liberty! [Ed. Phil.]

The Cruelty and Wickedness of Slavery.

Whoever examines into the condition of the slaves in America, will find them in a state of the most uncultivated rudeness. Not instructed in any kind of learning, they are grossly ignorant of all refinement, and have but little else about them, belonging to the nature of civilized man, than the mere form! They are strangers to almost every idea, that do not relate to their labor or their food; and, though naturally possessed of strong capacity, and lively parts, are, in all respects, in a state of the most deplorable brutality.—This is owing to the iron hand of oppression, which ever crushes the bud of genius, and binds up in chains every expansion of the human mind.—Such is their extreme ignorance, that they are utterly unacquainted with the laws of the world—the injunctions of religion—their own natural rights, and the forms, ceremonies and privileges of marriage, originally established by the Divinity. Consequently they live in the open violation of the precepts of christianity; and with as little formality and restriction as the brutes of the field, unite for the purpose of procreation. Yet this in a civilized country, and a most civilized period of the world! The resplendent glory of the gospel is at hand, to conduct us safely through the labyrinths of life. Science hath grown up to maturity, and is discovered to possess not only all the properties of solidity and strength, but likewise every ornament of elegance, and every embellishment of fancy. Philosophy hath here attained the most exalted height of elevation; and the art of government hath received such refinements among us, as hath equally astonished our friends, our enemies, and ourselves. In fine, no annals are more brilliant than those of America; nor do any more luxuriantly abound with examples of exalted heroism, refined policy, and sympathetic humanity. Yet now the prospect begins to change; and the splendor of this august assemblage, will soon be overcast by sudden and impenetrable clouds; and American greatness be obliterated and followed up, by one enormity. Slavery diffuses the gloom, and casts around us the deepest shade of approaching darkness. No longer shall the United States of America be famed for liberty. Oppression pervades their bowels; and while they exhibit a fair exterior to other parts of the world, they are nothing more than "painted sepulchres," containing nothing within them but rottenness and corruption.

Ye voluptuous, ye opulent and great, who hold in subjection such numbers of your fellow creatures, and suffer these things to happen—beware! Reflect on the lamentable change, that may, at a future period, take place against you. Arraigned before the Almighty Sovereign of the universe, how will you answer the charge of such complicated enormity! The presence of those slaves, who have been lost, for want of your instruction, and by means of your oppression, shall make you sink deeper into the flames, to avoid their just reproaches, and seek out for an asylum, in the hidden corners of perdition?

Many persons of opulence in Virginia and the Carolinas, treat their unhappy slaves with every circumstance of the coolest neglect, and the most deliberate indifference. Surrounded with a numerous train of servants, to contribute to their personal ease, and wallowing in the luxurious plenty of riches, they neglect the wretched

source, whence they draw this profusion. Many of their negroes, on distant estates, are left entirely to the management of inhuman overseers, where they suffer for the want of that sustenance, which, at the proprietor's seat of residence is wastefully given to the dogs. It frequently happens, on these large estates, that they are not clothed, till the winter is nearly expired; and then, only the most valuable are attended to; the young and the laboring, having no other allowance, in this respect, than the tattered garments, thrown off by the more fortunate. A single peck of corn a week, or the like measure of rice, is the ordinary allowance of provision for a hard working slave; to which a small quantity of meat is occasionally, though rarely, added. While those miserable degraded persons, thus strictly submit, all the produce of their unwearied toil, is taken away to satisfy their rapacious master. He, devoted wretch! thoughless of the sweat and toil with which he wears, exhausted dependents procure what he extravagantly dissipates, not contented with the ordinary luxuries of life, is, perhaps, planning at the time, some improvement on the voluptuousness.—Thus he sets up two carriages instead of one; maintains twenty servants, when a fourth part of that number is more than sufficient to discharge the business of personal attendance; makes every animal, proper for the purpose, bleed around him, in order to supply the gluttonous profusion of his table; and generously gives away what his slaves are pining for—those very slaves, whose labor enables him to display his liberality.—No comment is necessary, to expose the peculiar folly, ingratitude, and infamy of such execrable conduct.

But the custom of neglecting those slaves, who have been worn out in our service, is unhappily found to prevail, not only among the more opulent, but through the more extensive round of the middle and inferior ranks of life. No better reason can be given for this base inattention, than, that they are no longer able to contribute to our amusement. With singular dishonor, we forget the faithful instrument of past enjoyment, and when, by length of time, it becomes debilitated, it is, like a withered stalk, ungratefully thrown away.

Our slaves unquestionably have the strongest of all claims upon us, for protection and support; we having committed them to involuntary servitude, and depriving them of every means of protecting and supporting themselves. The injustice of our conduct, and barbarity of our neglect, when this reflection is allowed to predominate, become so glaringly conspicuous, as even to excite, against ourselves, the strongest emotions of detraction and abhorrence.

To whom are the wretched sons of Africa to apply for redress, if their cruel master treats them with unkindness? To whom can they resort for protection, if he is base enough to refuse it to them? The law is not their friend;—alas! too many statutes are enacted against them. The world is not their friend;—the inquiry is too general and extensive. No one who hath slaves of his own, will protect those of another, lest the practice should be retorted. Thus, when their masters abandon them, their situation is destitute and forlorn, and God is their only friend!

Let us imitate the conduct of a neighboring state, and immediately take measures, at least, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Justice demands it of us, and we ought not to hesitate to obey its inviolable mandates.—All the feelings of pity, compassion, affection, and benevolence—all the emotions of tenderness, humanity, philanthropy, and goodness—all the sentiments of mercy, probity, honor, and integrity, unite to solicit for their emancipation. Immortal will be the glory of accomplishing their liberation; and eternal the disgrace of keeping them in chains.

But, if the state of Pennsylvania is to be applauded for her conduct, that of South Carolina can never be too strongly execrated. The legislature of that state, at no very remote period, brought in a bill for prohibiting the use of letters to their slaves, and forbidding them the privilege of being taught to read.—This was a deliberate attempt to enslave the minds of those unfortunate objects, whose persons they already held in arbitrary subjection.—Detestable deviation from the becoming rectitude of man!

One more peculiarly distressing circumstance remains to be recounted, before I take my final leave of the subject.—In the ordinary course of the business of the country, the punishment of relations frequently happens on the same farm, and in view of each other.—The father often sees his beloved son—the son his venerable father—the mother her much beloved daughter—the daughter her affectionate parent—the husband sees the wife of his bosom, and she the husband of her affection, cruelly bound up without delicacy or mercy, and punished with all the extremity of increased rage, and all the rigor of unrelenting severity, while these unfortunate wretches dare not even interpose in each other's behalf. Let us reverse the case, and suppose it ours—all is silent horror!

OTHELLO.

Maryland, May 23, 1788.

The above is copied from the American Museum. It was written in a slave-State, but before the increased value of the cotton culture had invested slavery with that peculiar sanctity which now demands our silent reverence. Baltimore tolerated in 1788, what she would punish now as a crime, dangerous to the commonwealth. Men then were so crude in their notions as to imagine that people had a right to talk as it suited them. But now there is a new order of things: Slavery is in the ascendant. Can men never be convinced, that in this proud republic, Slavery is marching on from conquering to conquer! [Ed. Phil.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

From the Human Rights.

What Foreigners think of us!

The following extracts from the Paris journal, "The National," of Nov. 16, 1835, shows strikingly to what reproaches our Christianity and our country expose themselves, by their connection with slavery. In the course of a long article on American slavery, the French editor makes the following remarks:

"It has often been asserted, and especially of late, that christianity has exercised the greatest influence in the abolition of slavery among the people who have adopted it. If this be true, how comes it to pass that the United States, where the Christian religion is not only professed with the mouth, but rigorously practised, should be the very place, where, in our days slavery is most obstinately maintained, and with the most atrocious and savage violence!"

"Everywhere, the abolitionists (this is the name given to those citizens of the U. States, who do not participate in the prejudices of their countrymen, and who hold the equality of rights among men) are the objects of the most violent threats and persecutions; and they hardly dare, in the midst of language, publicly to justify acts worthy of all praise."

"This abuse [prosecution of free blacks] is founded on private interest, but still more on a merciless prejudice, and savage pride, like that of the noble towards the roturier of the middle ages, or the Indian of high caste towards the Pariah on the banks of the Ganges. Wherever this prejudice does not exist, the black race and the white race live peaceably side by side without a fear of the one tyrannizing over the other. At Algiers, where the colonists and soldiers arrive from France without the prejudice of color, the negroes, free and in great numbers, pursue their various occupations industriously, and are the object neither of hatred, contempt nor apprehension to the Europeans. There can be seen in the same workshops at the port, engaged on the same works, French free laborers, discarded soldiers, free negroes and Arabs. All these men work together without any prejudice coming in to disturb the harmony which reigns between the laborers, of color, race and country so different."

This is so much the more remarkable because it takes place in a city full of negro slaves belonging to the Moors.

"In the Spanish part of St. Domingo, there remain some whites descended from Europeans.—If the negroes pleased they could administer the lashes to these sons of the Castilian nobles, and make them work upon their sugar and coffee plantations; for there they have the numbers and the power to do it. But, more reasonable and just than the whites of the Antilles or the U. States, they live on good terms with those nephews of the Europeans, to whom a strange destiny in the history of nations has given birth with them, in an American island."

It appears from the Report of Pierre Alexander Charrier, commandant of the arrondissement of St. Yague and La Vega, to the President of Hayti, dated Jan. 1, 1836, that the prejudice of color is not yet extinct in the Spanish part of St. Domingo, but the government is directing its

energies against it and it is gradually dying away. That zealous officer gives it no quarter in his report, and says: "I have sworn open war with this fatal and shameful prejudice, and will attack it till it is reduced to powder in its profoundest roots."

"Such acts" doubtless are meant as that of Mr. Dr. Beumont's hero. See Anti-Slavery Magazine No. VI.

See also A Noble Example.

DAVID A. BARRIS, Esq. late of Huntsville, Ala. arrived in this place on Friday with twelve colored persons, to whom he had lately given their freedom. Mr. B. was once the owner (so called) of twenty-one slaves. But he has liberated them all. Nine of them remain for the present in Alabama, where by the law they may stay one year after their liberation. They will, Providence permitting, emigrate to this state the following spring. Meanwhile as Mr. B. distinctly informed us, they are no longer property but wax. Mr. B. is an elder in the Presbyterian church, and was a member of the last General Assembly. He told us then of the purpose he had formed of giving liberty to his slaves; and that he was then making those arrangements which he has now so happily completed.

We welcome such a man to our state—in the midst of so many church members and elders and ministers who connive at, or approve, or worst of all, practice the abominations of slavery, for the sake of ease or gain, it refreshes the soul to meet with a man whose christianian principles are strong enough to enable him to no longer pay the expense of his purse. By the deed of emancipation, in this case, on the day in which it was executed, Mr. Smith lay down at night a poorer man by \$21,000 than when he rose, since for so much these 21 human beings might have been sold. But we venture to say, his sleep was none the less sweet; nor will his reflections, upon a dying bed be the less soothing, nor his situation at the judgement bar of Him who "is no respecter of persons" the less enviable because he refused to consign his fellow creatures to hopeless bondage that he might put the price of their bodies and souls in his pocket.

We have received the following communication on this subject, which we cheerfully insert.

For the *Alton Observer*.

Our town for a few days past has been gladdened with the bright smiles and joyous countenances of a few of the liberated sons of that dark, ill-fated, benighted race, so long oppressed and enslaved by those who are proud to call themselves the children of the champions of liberty, and firm defenders of universal freedom. My heart is almost daily cheered and elated by the bright prospects that are continually spread before it. New light seems to break upon the minds of men as time advances, and the day will soon dawn when every shackle shall be broken, and all the oppressed go free. Then shall the earth be glad, the rivers rejoice, the stars sing together for joy and the hills clap their hands.

A Mr. SMITH of Alabama, having last fall purchased a quantity of land in this state, recently arrived here with twelve slaves, and gave to them that land and their precious liberty. How noble! How generous.

I had considerable conversation with these, now free men, and was delighted. Among many other questions I asked one of them, if liberty was as pleasant as slavery, his answer was, "yes master, oh yes, yes." I again asked him if he felt like destroying his master for his having set him at liberty, oh no master, I'd do any thing for my master, I'd suffer any thing for him, I'd die for him. I asked him if the slaves in general at the south, understood the nature of liberty, and desired its restraints. He said yes master, they all want liberty, and they are expecting it; it was the only safety their masters had; but they dare not speak of liberty, for fear of being whipped or shot. Are they punished much, I asked: "we were not," said he; but some of the slaves on the cotton patches, close to us, were whipped every day; sometimes their masters tied their hands and feet together—what they call bucking down—and then beat them with a flat board, and then took the lash to prick the blisters. Are any of them instructed in Sabbath schools or other ways, I asked. He said that he had heard that some in Kentucky had Sabbath schools, but added, with a fallen countenance, in Alabama they raise too much cotton.

I asked, what were the feelings of slaveholders in regard to their being liberated, he said that some of them cursed his master, and said, "I'd give them liberty in a cotton patch, if I owned them. I asked him if he knew any thing respecting the Sabbath, he said he had been told they must not work on the sabbath, but added he, slaves in Alabama, master, do work all Sunday, and their masters, perhaps, go to church.

Thus by these few simple answers, the spirit of slaveholders and the enslaved is discovered. Unchain the dog, and see if he does not manifest gratitude for his liberty. Is the black man less worthy of trust than his brute? Much might be said of the evil consequences and sin of slavery; but I only give these few facts to the public that they may judge for themselves, trusting that all will soon hear the voice of God and "let the oppressed go FREE."

State of New-Jersey.

A further Supplement to An Act, entitled "An Act concerning Slaves."

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted*, by the council and general assembly of this state, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same, That when any person claimed as a fugitive slave, shall be brought before any judge of the inferior court of common pleas, agreeably to the provisions of an act, entitled "a supplement to an act entitled an act concerning slaves," unless the said fugitive shall admit before him, the claim of the claimant or claimants, it shall be the duty of the said judge to appoint a certain time and place for the hearing of the said claimant's title to the services of such fugitive; and shall thereupon call to his assistance two other judges of the said court of common pleas, which said judges at the time and place appointed, shall proceed to hear and determine upon said claim, and pronounce judgment thereon; and if the said judgment shall be in favor of said claim, to give a certificate thereof, which certificate, signed by any two of said judges, shall be a sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive, as fully as provided for by the said supplement, on the certificate therein mentioned.

2. *And be it enacted*, That if either party shall demand a trial by jury, then it shall be the duty of the said judge, before whom such fugitive shall be brought, instead of calling to his assistance the said judges, as provided in the preceding section, to issue a venire to the sheriff of such county, commanding him to summons a jury of said county, to be and appear before the said judge, at the time and place appointed, to enquire into and determine upon said claim, and upon the trial of the said claim, the same proceeding shall be had as in all other cases of trial by jury; and if the said jury shall find a verdict in favor of said claimant or claimants, the same shall be recorded; and it shall be the duty of the said judge to give a certificate thereof, which certificate shall be a sufficient warrant for removing the said fugitive as aforesaid.

3. *And be it enacted*, That in case of the non-attendance of any of the said judges, on the day appointed for the trial of the said claims as aforesaid, it shall and may be lawful for the judge or judges in attendance, to postpone the said trial, and in his or their discretion to call to his or their assistance another judge or judges, so as to ensure a speedy trial of said claim, and in case jury shall be demanded, and from any cause the jury shall be unable to agree upon a verdict, then it shall be the duty of the said judge, to issue a venire for another jury at such time as he may appoint, so as to ensure a trial and verdict on said claim.

4. *And be it enacted*, That if the said judge shall decide, or the said jury find a verdict, against such claim, a record shall be made thereof, and the said fugitive shall be discharged from such claim and imprisonment under the same.

5. *And be it enacted*, That the parties shall be entitled to the same privileges for an adjournment, as provided for in the said supplement.

6. *And be it enacted*, That a record shall be kept of all the proceedings had upon the said claim, and final judgment thereon.

7. *And be it enacted*, That the said judge, for keeping the said record, shall be entitled to receive one dollar for issuing the venire sixties cents; the sheriff for serving the same, one dollar and fifty cents; the jurors the same fees as by law are allowed to jurors in the courts of common law, and the said judge or judges as the case may

be, two dollars and fifty cents per day each, for each and every day necessarily spent in said hearing, which fees shall be paid as required by said supplement.

8. *And be it enacted*, That any judge or justice, who shall give any certificate, authorizing the removal of any fugitive slave out of this state, without the title of the claimant or claimants to the services of such fugitive having first been decided upon in his honor, or their favor, under the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be liable to a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both, and any judge refusing to perform any of the duties required by this act, shall, on conviction thereof, be liable to pay any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, one half to the use of the persons who shall prosecute for the same, and one half to the use of the county in which the same shall be prosecuted.

9. *And be it enacted*, That so much of the said original act, or supplement thereto, as shall come within the purview of this act, be, and the same is hereby repealed. Passed February, 15th, 1837.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

EMERY & HOWELLS.

Wholesale and Retail Grocers.—Manufacturers of Fine and Cedar Coopers' Ware and Washboards. Purchasers will find a large assortment of Groceries, choice Wine, Hops, Coopers' Ware, Washboards, Brooms, Brushes, Cordage, &c. &c. No. 217 Main street, (west side,) between Fifth and Sixth, Cincinnati. March 29th, 1837.

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

An excellent farm of 198 acres, 13 miles from town, having 120 acres in a high state of cultivation, two good orchards of apple, pear, peach and English cherry trees, a large new frame barn, a good cider house, with a mill and a press, a wagon house, a corn crib, grain, smoke and carriage houses, hog pens, a new milk house with three rooms, an excellent frame house with seven rooms, a cellar and porch; also, a first rate culinary garden, and many springs. The land is very rich and well situated for cultivation.

A fertile farm of 136 acres, 8 miles from town, with 70 acres in culture, the rest well timbered with Walnut, Blue Ash, Sugar and Locust trees. The improvements consist of a frame house, with four rooms, a cellar and porch; a frame barn, two stables, a well and a good orchard of choice fruit trees. The land is rich, rolling, well fenced and watered with springs.

A farm of 100 acres, 17 miles from town, having 50 acres in cultivation, the rest abounding with the best kind of rail timber, a small orchard, well with a pump, a frame house and other buildings. The land is chiefly rich bottom.

A desirable farm of 160 acres, 70 miles from town, and one mile from the Ohio, with 50 acres well improved, a vineyard, two orchards of apple and peach trees, of excellent quality; a good house with four rooms and a cellar; also, 3 stables, a crib, a smoke house, an excellent cistern and two never failing springs. The land is of good quality, and situated well for cultivation.

A desirable farm of 510 acres, 30 miles from town, having 200 acres in cultivation, an excellent orchard of 800 apple, and 200 peach trees; a commodious frame barn, a hay press, several log barns, 4 log houses, two wells and many springs; also, a hop garden with 5042 hills with good poles. There is an abundance of timber upon the farm, likewise a new frame Saw Mill and a mill seat. The land is fair quality, well fenced, and situated well for tillage.

A handsome country seat, with 108 acres of very rich bottom land, situated 15 miles from town, having 90 acres in cultivation, the rest well timbered. The improvements consist of a first rate frame house with 9 rooms, a cellar and two porches. Also a tenant's house, a commodious frame barn, with a stable for 8 horses, a large stone mill and smoke house, a cider house with a mill and a press, corn, gear, carriage, tool and wood sheds; also, a very large corn loft, two excellent wells, several cisterns, many springs, a capital orchard with 130 choice apple trees, a good culinary garden, having three beds of asparagus, 24 grape vines, and 40 fruit trees of select kinds. The whole of the buildings are new, well painted and laid out in a style of elegance. The land is very rich, and well fenced with post and rails, with gates for the fields.

A desirable Farm of 70 acres, 40 of which are in cultivation, situated 8 miles from town, in a healthy and populous region, having a new Brick House with 5 rooms, a cellar, and a porch. Also a large Frame Barn, with Sheds, Cribbs and Wagon-houses, two never failing Springs, a Creek, and an Orchard of choice grafted Fruit Trees.

A desirable Country Seat, with 51 acres of Land, 1 mile from town, having 30 acres in cultivation, a new Frame House, built in cottage style, with 7 rooms, a cellar and a porch, a large Frame Barn, a Carriage House and other buildings. Also, a Well, a Pump, several Springs, a good Garden well laid out, and a young Orchard of 75 apple, 30 peach, and 50 cherry trees. The land is rich, well fenced and watered, and situated in a healthy and good neighborhood.

A Farm of 62 acres, 9 miles from town, upon the Winton road, having 38 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, a well, a spring, a stone, a Frame Barn, and a Brick House, with 4 rooms and a cellar.

Very many other FARMS and COUNTRY SEATS for sale. Eligible HOUSES in various parts of the City, for sale. Citizens and Emigrants are invited to call for full information, which will be given gratis. If by letter, postage paid.

Capitalists can obtain 10 per cent. interest upon mortgage, or the best personal security.

Persons desirous of receiving money from England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland, and other parts of Europe, can have the cash paid them in Cincinnati, as soon as the payment is advised by the European Bankers.

English Bills of Exchange, Gold, and Bank of England notes bought and sold.

Farmers and Citizens wishing to dispose of their estates, will incur no expense unless sales be effected.

Apply to THOMAS EMERY, Estate and Money Agent, Fourth st., East of Main, Cincinnati, O.

GREENFIELD STEAM MILL AND FACTORY FOR SALE.

Consisting of a Cotton and Woollen Factory and Grist Mill.

The Factory House is 100